

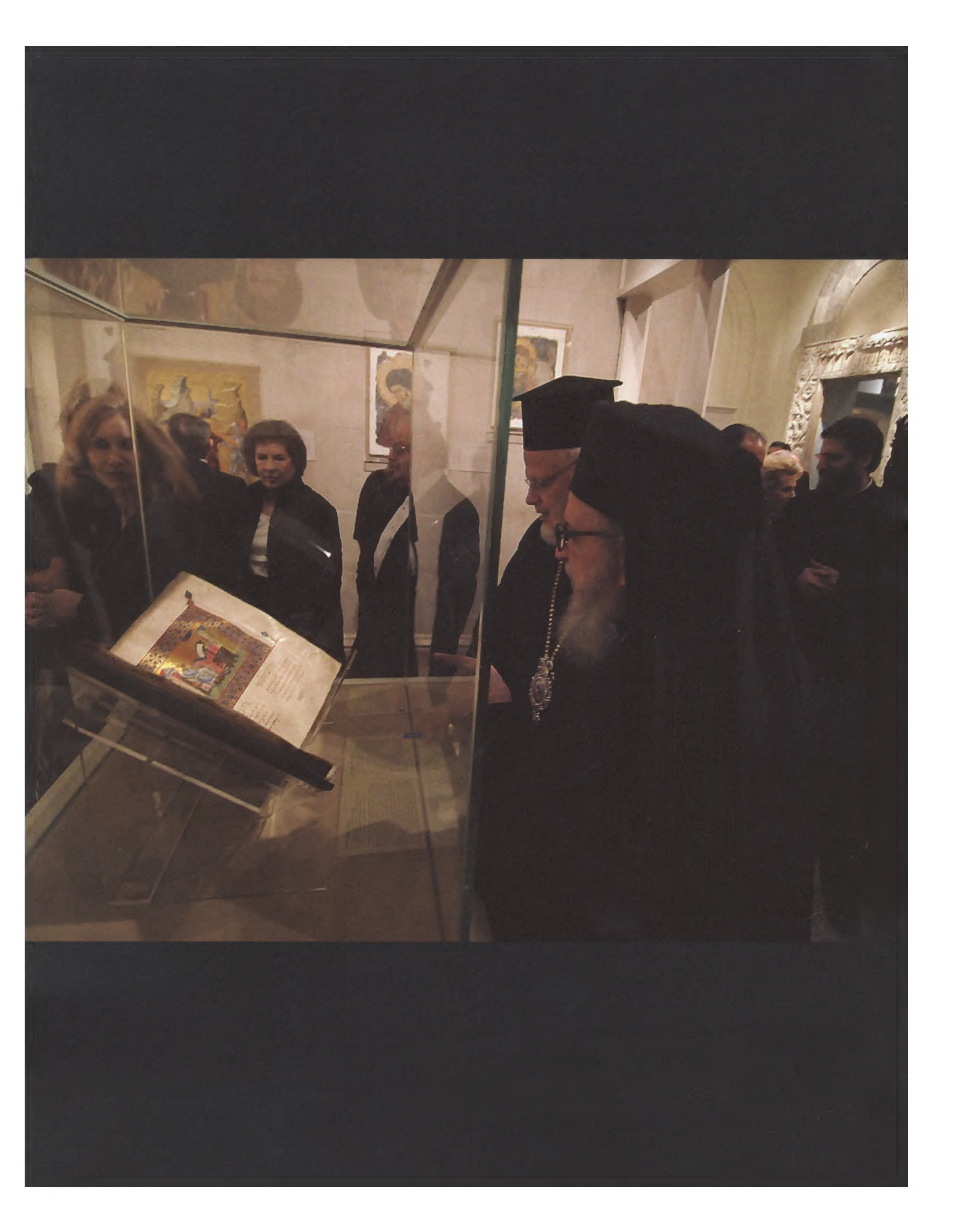
THE JAHARIS GOSPEL LECTIONARY

The Story of a Byzantine Book

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

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JOHN LOWDEN

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Jacket illustration: Opening page of the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 43r. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Mary and Michael Jaharis Gift and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2007 (2007.286) (fig. 30)

Frontispiece: Archbishop Demetrios, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, and others viewing the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary at the opening of the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Byzantine Art, November 17, 2008. (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Don Pollard)

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To Mary and Michael Jaharis
in grateful recognition

Habent sua fata libelli
"Every book has a story to tell"

CONTENTS

DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

Over the last decade the Metropolitan Museum's exceptional collection of the arts of the Byzantine world (330–1453 A.D.) has been handsomely reinstalled in our newly expanded Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries for Byzantine Art. Missing from the new galleries, however, was an outstanding example of one of the greatest artistic traditions of the Byzantine Empire, an exquisitely illuminated book. Now, through the continued generosity of Mary and Michael Jaharis, the Metropolitan has acquired one of the finest illuminated liturgical texts of the Middle Byzantine era, a period noted for the quality of its manuscript tradition.

As author John Lowden demonstrates here, the Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary was written about 1100 for use in Constantinople, the capital of the empire, at the great church of Hagia Sophia, the seat of the Orthodox Church and the primary site at which the emperor worshipped, or for one of its nearby affiliated churches. As the highly educated citizens of the Byzantine Empire placed a premium on manuscripts, the acquisition of this work is particularly important to the Museum's goal of presenting the breadth of the finest arts of Byzantium. The Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary, fittingly, is displayed at the Metropolitan in an evocation of the apse of a Middle Byzantine church, the new focal point of the Museum's Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries for Byzantine Art. Near the manuscript are intricately worked examples of cloisonné enamel, whose elaborate decorations are similar to the borders that frame the elegant portraits of the evangelists in the manuscript.

John Lowden, Professor of the History of Art at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, is one of the world's experts on Byzantine manuscripts and the Byzantine artistic tradition. The author of a number of important works in the field, he is particularly well prepared to provide this definitive study of the making of the Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary. As one of the first modern scholars to have had extended access to the long-known but little-studied masterpiece, Professor Lowden here brings to the fore a work whose beauty has not been fully appreciated nor its status as a commission for Hagia Sophia or its affiliated churches recognized. I wish to thank Professor Lowden for cogently articulating the importance of the Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary and the role of lectionaries in the liturgy of the Orthodox Church.

Helen C. Evans, Mary and Michael Jaharis Curator for Byzantine Art, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, having been told of the manuscript by Professor Lowden, led in its acquisition by the Museum with the enthusiastic support of Peter Barnet, Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, and Barbara Drake Boehm, curator in the department. The interest of His Eminence Archbishop Demetrios, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, in the significance of the work was instrumental in that process. Brandie Ratliff, Research Associate for Byzantine Art in the Medieval Department, has most effectively worked on the development of this book in all of its phases. The Museum's editorial staff, under the direction of John P. O'Neill, Publisher and Editor in Chief, and editors Jane Bobko and Cynthia Clark, has as always produced an exceptional book with superb reproductions of the Jaharis manuscript illuminations, supervised by Gwen Roginsky and Sally Van Devanter.

All of this would not have been possible without the generosity of Mary and Michael Jaharis. Over the last century the Metropolitan's medieval collections have had three great patrons: J. Pierpont Morgan, whose gifts

of 1917 included the foundation of the Byzantine collection; John D. Rockefeller, whose interest in medieval art encompassed the addition of several significant Byzantine works to our collection; and now Mary and Michael Jaharis, who have already given most generously for the installation of the Museum's Byzantine and early medieval art. Through their gift of the Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary, the Jaharises have added a masterpiece of Byzantine art to the Metropolitan's collection. Their appreciation of the world of Byzantium has been vital to our efforts.

In conclusion, I wish to extend special recognition to The Hagop Kevorkian Fund and its president, Ralph Minasian, who have long supported the Museum's publications on Byzantine art. It is the Fund's ongoing commitment to the arts of the Eastern Mediterranean that has made this publication possible.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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At The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I would like to recognize, especially, Helen C. Evans, Mary and Michael Jaharis Curator for Byzantine Art, who, with the support of Peter Barnet, Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, has made everything possible. Brandie Ratliff, Research Associate in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, aided in many aspects of the project, including ordering and coordinating the photographs. For their valuable assistance, I am grateful to Angela Hero, Queens College, New York, and Vasileios Marinis, Institute of Sacred Music, Yale University, New Haven.

For their exceptional editorial skills, I thank the Metropolitan Museum's Editorial Department under the direction of John P. O'Neill, Publisher and Editor in Chief, notably Senior Editors Jane Bobko and Cynthia Clark. Bruce Campbell designed this book with sensitivity and flair, and the excellent reproductions were overseen by Gwen Roginsky, General Manager of Publications, and Sally Van Devanter, Production Manager. For the photography of the Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary, appreciation is in order to Barbara Bridgers, General Manager for Imaging and Photography, and her staff, especially Karin L. Willis, Photographer, and Wilson Santiago and Consider Vösü, Image Production Associates.

For their assistance in obtaining photographs, particular thanks are owed to the Holy Fathers, Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos; the Holy Fathers, Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos; the Holy Fathers, especially Father Justin, Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai; and Nicholas Pickwoad, Camberwell College of Arts, University of the Arts, London. My gratitude is also extended to Catherine Kordouli, Deputy General Director, National Library of Greece, Athens; Dina Giuliani, Ufficio Fotografico, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence; Olga Beloborodova, Department of Foreign Relations, State Historical Museum, Moscow; Eva Soos, Photography and Rights, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York; Irina Ozeryanskya, Head Museum Custodian, Local History Museum, Odessa; Patricia Buckingham, Principal Library Assistant, Western Manuscripts Photographic Research, Imaging Services, and Samantha Townsend, Senior Library Assistant, Imaging Services, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Département de la Reproduction, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; Riccardo Luongo, Ufficio Copyright, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; Despina Vlassi, Librarian, Istituto Ellenico, Venice; and Marta Zlotnick, Registrar, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

I would like to acknowledge The Hagop Kevorkian Fund and its president, Ralph Minasian, who have been

and continue to be great supporters of the Museum's publications on Byzantine art. This publication is made possible by the Fund.

Finally, because the last shall be first, I offer my deepest thanks to Mary and Michael Jaharis on behalf of all those who read this book, or who look at the manuscript that it is about. Their extraordinary generosity made possible the Metropolitan Museum's acquisition of the Jaharis Byzantine Gospel Lectionary. May they be remembered.

John Lowden
The Courtauld Institute of Art
University of London



ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ
ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρ
χης ἐλεγχόμενος
ὑπὸ ἰωάννου·
περὶ ἡρωδιάδος
τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ·
καὶ περὶ πάντων
ὧν ἐποίησε πονη
ρῶν ὁ ἡρώδης·
προσέθηκε καὶ τοῦ
το ἐπὶ πᾶσι· (ια)



PROLOGUE

The pregnant observation that "Every book has a story to tell" was first made by an otherwise little-known Roman author of the third century A.D., Terentianus Maurus, in a dry grammatical treatise that circulated under the title *De litteris syllabis et metris* ([Three Books] On Letters, Syllables, and Meters).[1] Terentianus wrote, "Habent sua fata libelli," literally, "Books have their fates." In its Latin form this observation became a popular catchphrase among those in later centuries—into modern times—who were familiar with Latin, or wanted (one can imagine) by their use of this commonplace to suggest that they were. The context in which Terentianus originally described the fates of books, however, gave his statement a more limited and at the same time a more interesting meaning. What he actually wrote, at the end of *De syllabis*, was a line of dactylic hexameter verse, which reads: "Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli." The fates of books, Terentianus said, *depend on their readers*. This was a profound insight.

For Terentianus, *libelli* (books) took the form of handwritten papyrus scrolls, rather than the now familiar printed codex/volume. It nonetheless remains true today that books, in the form of all the copies of a particular text, have specifically reader-generated fates—be they novels that become international bestsellers, historical treatises that are standard schoolroom texts, poems that are set to music, or fantasies that become films, among many possibilities. Indeed, in much modern literary theory the role of the reader has eclipsed that of the author as a focus of analytical investigation, bearing out the richness of Terentianus's formulation.

Not only books—meaning all the volumes of a particular text—have their reader-generated fates; every individual copy of every text—every book in the sense of a separate volume—also has its fate, and hence can, metaphorically speaking, tell a particular story. Who does not carefully preserve copies of books which hold a special significance that goes well beyond that of their content: a gift or prize, perhaps; a volume that evokes happy memories of a particular person or event; the water-damaged reminder of a flood?

Before the advent of the mass production of books, the result of the invention of printing with movable type more than five hundred years ago, the story every book had to tell involved not just that book's use but its very making, so that the tale was far more complex than any modern one, and, indeed, infinitely variable. What follows is the story of a single nine-hundred-year-old book, handwritten, superbly crafted, richly decorated, and carefully preserved: the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary. My study of the Jaharis Lectionary is the story of how that book was made, where it was used, what it was for, and how it comes to be in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is a story with long gaps, where the trail of evidence goes cold, interspersed with detailed vistas and intense insights, where the evidence is plentiful. My aim throughout has been to retell the story *of* that book, as distinct from the story *in* that book.

Until it went on display in the Metropolitan Museum in 2008, the Jaharis Lectionary was a hidden treasure: an illuminated Byzantine manuscript that was almost entirely unknown, even to scholars. I first learned of the lectionary's existence in 2006, when I was asked to analyze it by a French antiquarian bookseller. In the pages that follow I begin with this recent history and work backward through time, retracing the steps in my research, initially into the lectionary's provenance, and then into its function, its manufacture, and its context.

A Gospel lectionary is a volume containing readings from the Gospels, arranged in the order in which they were used in church services. This is more complicated

Opposite: Fig. 1. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint Luke, Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 109r. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment, leather binding. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Mary and Michael Jaharis Gift and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2007 (2007.286)

than it sounds, because the Orthodox Church (then as now) observed two complementary calendars: one for the so-called movable year, which is governed by the date of Easter (on any one of thirty-five possible days between March 22 and April 25), and the other for commemorations of the fixed year, for example, Christmas or the Beheading of John the Baptist (the latter always on June 24). These two systems are reflected in the Jaharis Lectionary by its division into two major sections, called the synaxarion (here meaning the texts of the movable calendar, starting with Easter) and the menologion (here meaning texts of the fixed calendar, starting on September 1). The broad history and detailed consequences of this arrangement are the focus of the chapter "Reconstructing Use." Systematic investigation indicates that the Jaharis Lectionary was made for use in Hagia Sophia, the cathedral church of Constantinople, the seat of the patriarch in the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

The chapter "Exploring Manufacture" seeks to establish when the Jaharis Lectionary was made, by comparison with related books. The conclusion that it was produced in the decades about 1100 is not likely to prove controversial. But when we look carefully at the lectionary and its relatives in the chapter "Contextualizing Production," it emerges that the books are remarkably varied and unpredictable, especially as regards the use of images. This may cause some surprise, for it conflicts strongly with the modern perception of Byzantine culture as unchanging, a perception that the Byzantines themselves were keen to promote.

Finally, by way of introduction, I must mention the issue of language. We have seen that Terentianus Maurus's words were much richer in meaning when considered in their original Latin, and in their original context. The Jaharis Lectionary is written in Greek. Accepting that it is not only poetry that is lost in translation, I have sometimes transliterated Greek words, especially when dealing with terms for which there is no direct equivalent in English. Yet even these terms have a range of meanings, so it is important to be aware that the meaning preferred here is that suggested by the context and use of the word in the Jaharis Lectionary itself. When I have translated from the Greek, rather than transliterating, I have still aimed for literal accuracy rather than elegance. Personal names, on the other hand, I have on different occasions transliterated, latinized, or anglicized, according to their familiarity and/or standard scholarly usage. In the appendixes, however, I have included the original Greek, in the hope that this will enable and encourage some readers to continue the journey of research that begins here.

THE JAHARIS GOSPEL LECTIONARY

The Story of a Byzantine Book


ΤΗ ΑΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ

RETRACING HISTORY

To The Metropolitan Museum of Art from Paris

On July 6, 2007, The Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased an illuminated Byzantine Gospel lectionary, now known as the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary. The seller was Jörn Günther Antiquariat, of Hamburg.[1] Prior to a brief sojourn in Germany, the manuscript had been in France for more than a hundred years, but it took me some time to establish that crucial fact. It was in Paris, in the shop of a leading and long-established antiquarian bookseller, Librairie Thomas-Scheler, at 19 rue de Tournon, in the sixth arrondissement, that I first saw the lectionary, on March 10, 2006. Prior to that, on February 3, 2006, Thomas-Scheler had sent me without any warning a compact disc of a "very important twelfth-century Greek manuscript," in the words of the covering letter. The letter explained that Christian Förstel, the curator of Greek manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris, had suggested me as someone who could "write a detailed description of this manuscript." This course of action had also been recommended by the former chief curator of the department of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, François Avril, the doyen of scholars of Western manuscripts. This was reassuring to me, because had I not known that Thomas-Scheler (with whom I had no previous connection) was approaching me with the support of my colleagues at the Bibliothèque Nationale, I would have felt uncomfortable at the possible motives for the dealer's choosing a scholar outside France to work on this intriguing object. I also knew that my selection meant that the Bibliothèque Nationale did not intend to purchase the lectionary, and I assumed that the library would not object to its export (they did not). I submitted my description of the manuscript on April 30, 2006. In the summer of 2006 the lectionary received a certificate as a French cultural property and an export license was duly granted.

Looking at the twenty-two digital photographs on the compact disc sent to me by Thomas-Scheler, I was astonished at the near perfect preservation of the images in the book, with the exception of the heavily worn frontispiece of Saint John (compare, for example, fig. 2 and fig. 30). I was also puzzled as to where the manuscript could have come from. There are about sixty thousand known Greek manuscripts in the world, a good proportion of which (perhaps as many as ten thousand) are decorated in some way. Only a much smaller number, roughly one thousand, have significant figurative images. Although I cannot claim to have seen all one thousand or so illustrated—as distinct from decorated—manuscripts, I was surprised that such an obviously important book should have slipped by me unnoticed. From the start, however, I was concerned that the lectionary might have been pillaged in the twentieth century. Did it perhaps come, I wondered, like other manuscripts that had appeared irregularly on the art market since 1920, from the Monastery of Kosinitza, near Drama in Thrace, or from the Monastery of the Prodromos (the "forerunner" of Christ, that is to say, John the Baptist) at Serres, between Drama and Thessaloniki, both sacked in 1917?[2] Alternatively, I wondered whether it might once have formed part of one of the collections of Greek manuscripts in churches and monasteries in or around Istanbul, collections that were greatly depleted before, during, and after the Greco-Turkish war of 1922. Even if the lectionary had not been looted or stolen in the twentieth century, had it, I wondered, been exported illegally, or smuggled into France in recent times? I did not want to discover that the manuscript was a metaphorical closet full of skeletons, although had that proved to be the case I like to think I would not have hesitated to reveal their existence.

As soon as I saw the original manuscript, however, even before I opened it, my concerns as to its recent history and provenance were much reduced: the book has been rebound in modern times, and bears in small gold script on its spine the stamp of Petit-Simier (fig. 3), a leading Parisian bookbinder of the mid- and late nineteenth century. If the book was already in Paris before 1900 it obvi-

Opposite: Fig. 2. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint John. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 3r



Fig. 3. Stamp of the firm Petit-Simier, Paris, on the late 19th-century replacement binding of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary (detail)

ously had not been looted or stolen or smuggled in the twentieth century. In fact, my research was to show that there is no reason to think the book has ever changed hands except in an honest fashion.

Once I knew that the manuscript was already in Paris by about 1900 it became an easy matter to find references to it in standard scholarly works on Greek manuscripts. The second edition of Marcel Richard's *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1958) mentioned the manuscript as the property of the Société Biblique de France (later the Alliance Biblique Française), at Paris.[3] The revised edition of Richard's work by Jean-Marie Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard* (Turnhout, 1995), also cited it, although here it was said to be the property of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, also at Paris.[4] The lectionary was even mentioned in passing by Jeffrey C. Anderson in the catalogue of the ground-breaking 1997 exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Glory of Byzantium*. "The Morgan Lectionary [Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M. 639]," wrote Anderson, "has a close relative in another lectionary in the collection of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris (no. 206)."[5] He was absolutely right, as we shall see in the chapters "Reconstructing Use," "Exploring Manufacture," and "Contextualizing Production," where the Morgan Lectionary is discussed at length. What the precise relationship is between the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français and the Alliance Biblique Française, and why one or the other or both should have decided to sell the manuscript are matters that are not known to me. Librairie Thomas-Scheler never told me to whom the manuscript belonged in 2006, nor why it was to be sold, and these were matters I chose not to pursue.

Sojourn in Paris

The reason why I did not recognize the manuscript in 2006 was simple: no photograph of it had ever been published. It had been on public display, however, in Paris in 1958, in an exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Byzance et la France médiévale*.[6] At that time, exhibition catalogues did not routinely illustrate every object on display, and the lectionary was not included among the thirty-two black-and-white plates in the catalogue, so only those who visited the show would have seen the book.

For *Byzance et la France médiévale*, the Bibliothèque Nationale brought together eighty-eight illuminated Byzantine manuscripts and ten manuscripts from the post-Byzantine era. All but four of the total were selected from among the five thousand or so Greek manuscripts in the library. The Alliance Biblique Française manuscript was one of the four outsiders. (The remaining sixty-three objects in the show were partly French manuscripts, partly ivories and other miscellaneous pieces.) The catalogue was the work of Jean Porcher, the library's chief curator, with the curators of Greek manuscripts Charles Astruc and Marie-Louise Concasty.

The 1958 description of the Alliance Biblique Française lectionary is a model of detail and concision. In addition to describing the images on the lectionary's folios, it noted that the book had belonged to Chrysanthos Notaras, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1707; that it had been on Mount Athos in 1866; and that it had been sold by the Librairie Claudin, in Paris, in May 1877.

Even more detailed and informative was the first part of a short article by Astruc, "Précisions et rectifications: Compléments à Gregory Textkritik (sur le ms grec de la Société Biblique de France) et à Dölger, Regesten (sur le

Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 131)," which appeared in 1959 in the specialist periodical *Scriptorium*.[7] This was certainly an upshot of his work on the manuscript for the 1958 exhibition—he calls it "le bel Evangéliaire illustré" (the fine illuminated lectionary). Astruc's focus in the article was the flyleaves, parchment sheets inserted at the front and back of the book to strengthen the binding and to bridge the break between the leather-covered wooden panels of the covers and the block of pages of text. Astruc identified the texts of these leaves (on which see the chapter "Exploring Manufacture"). They must have been saved from an earlier binding when the book was rebound by Petit-Simier about 1880. Astruc also identified the reference on folio 190r of the lectionary to Konstantin[os] Erbitsianos (thus was the name written in Greek) as the signature of the Romanian scholar and theologian Constantin Erbiceanu (about whom see below).

When Astruc set out to complement "Gregory's *Textkritik*" he was paying tribute to one of the most important works of modern biblical scholarship, the three-volume *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* by the American-born Caspar René Gregory, published in Leipzig between 1900 and 1909. Born in Philadelphia, Gregory became a professor in Leipzig. He was naturalized as a German citizen, and at the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 volunteered, and was duly accepted, for active military service at the age of sixty-eight. He was killed on the Western front in 1917.[8] He records that he had seen the lectionary on June 28, 1885. Gregory was a systematic scholar, who personally examined a very large number of manuscripts. His work is still indispensable.[9]

The Gospel lectionary seen by Gregory in the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (which he cited as the Protestantische Bibelgesellschaft)[10] had been presented to the Société by its long-standing president, Baron Fernand de Schickler. Schickler was a scholar of French Protestantism, best known now for his three-volume account of French Protestant communities in England, *Les églises de refuge en Angleterre* (Paris, 1892). He was the founder in 1866, and thereafter the chief benefactor, of the library of the Société, of which he was president from 1865 until his death in 1909. The Protestant thread in this part of the history of the lectionary was very strong, for Schickler acquired the manuscript after the death in 1888 of another prominent Protestant scholar, Henri Bordier. Schickler may even have presented the manuscript to the Société in memory of Bordier. Certainly it was in the library of the Société, presumably on loan, already in Bordier's lifetime, for that was where it was examined by Gregory in 1885. (At this point we may note that Henri Omont, another chief curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and an expert on Byzantine manuscripts, published a brief mention of the book in 1898, but this had no repercussions in the short term.)[11]

Bordier had bought the manuscript from the Librairie Claudin in May 1877 for 3,000 francs. Later (in his study of illuminated Greek manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale [1883]) he quoted the sale-catalogue description: "FOUR GOSPELS IN GREEK. Large folio volume, bound with wooden boards, edges of the leaves gilded and with traces of old painting: 3,000 francs. A very valuable Greek manuscript of the twelfth century on vellum, preserved in fine condition."[12]

Bordier's father was a wealthy Genevan banker with business in Russia, and the private Swiss bank Bordier & Cie still flourishes. The son is remembered by an Avenue Henri-Bordier (fig. 4) in Châtelaine-Aïre, now a suburb of Geneva, and the family house still stands (fig. 5). Henri Bordier added a "fine library" to it on the top floor.[13]



Fig. 4. Avenue Henri-Bordier, Châtelaine-Aïre, Switzerland



Fig. 5. Bordier family house, now called La Concorde, Châtelaine-Aïre, Switzerland



Fig. 6. Engraving after the portrait of Saint Luke the Evangelist in the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, from Henri Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), p. 306, fig. 192. Bordier did not include the flyleaves in his numbering. Hence this leaf, fol. 109r, was his fol. 107r.

Bordier trained both as a manuscript specialist, at the École des Chartes in Paris, and as a lawyer.[14] He worked briefly in the French Archives Nationales, from 1851 to 1853, and subsequently authored indispensable guides to the archives of Paris. He wrote volumes of impeccable scholarship on medieval topics, from Gregory of Tours, the sixth-century bishop and historian, to Philippe de Rémi, sire de Beaumanoir, the thirteenth-century jurist and poet. He published on the Huguenots, reworked the massive history *La France protestante* by Eugène Haag in six volumes (Paris, 1877–88), and contributed many articles to the *Bulletin* of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, which last must have kept him in close contact with Baron Schickler. Bordier is perhaps best known today, however, for his exposure of the notorious literary forgeries of Vrain Lucas, who started with modest ambitions, and plausible results, but eventually produced absurdly unconvincing documents, such as the letter of Mary Magdalen to Lazarus, dated June 10, A.D. 46, and written, like the letters he composed by Cleopatra, Julius Caesar, and many others, in French, on modern watermarked paper.[15]



Fig. 7. Engraving after the portraits of Herod and Herodias in the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, misidentified by Henri Bordier as portraits by the manuscript artist of himself and his wife, from Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), p. 307, fig. 193

Bordier's key contribution in the present context, however, was not the unmasking of forgeries but his *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), the fruit of immense labor, and still a valuable resource. It was based on first-hand study of 1,540 illuminated examples from among the roughly 4,600 Greek manuscripts then at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and it took twenty years to research. He discusses *his* manuscript at length (referring to it as "in a private collection at Châtelaine-Aïre, near Geneva")[16] in an appendix to the volume. (As we have seen, he must have deposited it subsequently in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.) The appendix is a fascinating and revealing account, which deserves to be treated at length. A translation follows:

> *The volume, measuring 35 x 28 cm, has 309 folios, of which five are flyleaves removed from tenth-century manuscripts containing writings of the Church Fathers. It consists not merely of the Four Gospels, but concludes (folios 249–306) with a menologion [see the chapter "Reconstructing Use"]. This fine manuscript, perfectly preserved, has abundant illumination. First, there are half-page full-length evangelist portraits at the opening of each Gospel, painted, as usual, on a gold ground. Each evangelist is seated writing at his desk, framed by a gilded border of flowers and foliage. Below, the text begins with an enlarged initial formed around a figure of Christ, standing and teaching. Throughout the text on every page there are one or two fine gilded initials with foliage. . . . In the menologion each hagiography begins with a narrow band of foliage decoration. . . .*
>
> *But the particular detail that makes this manuscript interesting . . . and which prompts me to include it here, is the miniature of Saint Luke at the opening of his Gospel (fol. 107r) [fig. 6]. It has a remarkable feature: because Saint Luke was regarded in church tradition as a painter to whom a portrait of the Virgin was attributed, his colleague, the Byzantine artist of the twelfth century, chose to represent him [Saint Luke] in a workshop, and to supply a portrait of himself and his wife in the margin lower down the page [fig. 7]. The wife was probably also an artist, for both of them are represented in a solemn religious pose, placing themselves under the protection of the holy artist. It is highly probable that they are the makers of this manuscript, and that the workshop which is represented here is theirs. It is not especially lavish. A Chi-Rho and a cross on a base of curling stems are hung on the back wall: doubtless these are mathematical instruments from which to derive straight lines or curves. There are also several templates [échantillons] of spheres and circles, some sort of bag hanging by its strap (omitted by the engraver), a plaster mask, and an Apollo-like head. Finally, and in particular, there is a nude statue. This statue is remarkably incompetent (the engraver has improved it), but it bears out how the artist depended for this detail on his own resources, whereas for the evangelist portrait he followed the traditional artistic formula.*
>
> *The image of a husband-and-wife team from among those numerous artists about whom so little is known, artists to whom the content of the present volume are due, brings my lengthy labor to a happy closure.*[17]

This description is intriguing. Bordier clearly assumed that a Byzantine artist's workshop, much like a nineteenth-century artist's, would have contained templates and models of various sorts, as well as artworks. His understanding of the content of his book, however, seems to have been only partial: the illuminated headbands that mark the opening of each month in the menologion are described as opening each "hagiography." It is hard to believe that Bordier was unaware of the calendrical nature of the menologion and thought the Gospel lections were narratives of saints' lives. His identification of the couple in the margin of folio 107r as a husband-and-wife team of artists was also certainly incorrect (see the chapter "Exploring Manufacture"). Whether the Byzantine artist might have intended to represent the evangelist at work in his (that is Saint Luke's) workshop is a matter we will reconsider later.

Acquired on Mount Athos by Constantin Erbiceanu

According to Bordier,[18] the manuscript he purchased in May 1877 had been brought to Paris during the "latest Russo-Turkish war" by a "young Roumanian" who had acquired it in Athens. The reference to the war dates the arrival of the manuscript to after April 21, 1877 (but not long after). The mysterious "young Roumanian" was identified, as noted above, by Astruc. There is a note of ownership, written in black ink in a nineteenth-century hand on folio 190r, that has been partially erased and overwritten in purple ink (fig. 8). We can translate the note as follows: "The present divine and holy Gospel belongs to me and to whomsoever I have myself sold [it]. In the year 1866 August 12. / [a name in black ink, erased] Konstantinos Erbitsianos / + + + / from the Holy Mountain."[19] The name Konstantinos Erbitsianos and the date 1866 have been supplied in purple ink over erasures in the earlier note, together with an indication (also in purple ink) that

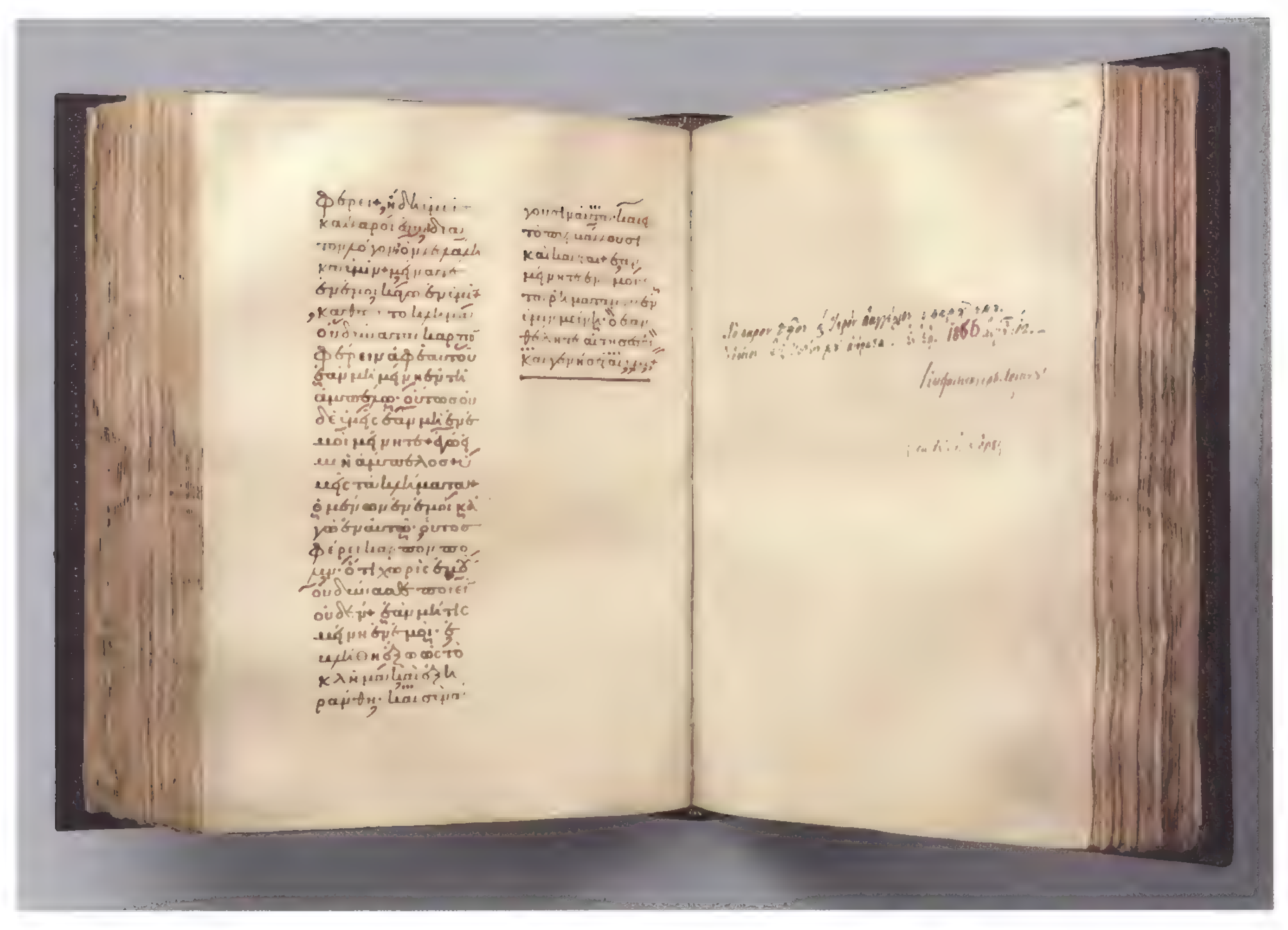


Fig. 8. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 189v–190r, with the ownership note and signature of the scholar Constantin Erbiceanu, dated 1866, at right

the writer brought the manuscript from the Holy Mountain (i.e., Mount Athos, at that time in the Ottoman Empire). Astruc identified "Erbitsianos" as the Romanian scholar and collector of Greek manuscripts, Constantin Erbiceanu (1838–1913), founding father of Byzantine manuscript studies in Romania.[20] This identification is certainly correct. In 1865 Erbiceanu won a scholarship to spend a year studying in Athens, which he somehow extended to three years, after which he went to Paris, returning to Bucharest in 1868.[21] Since he had acquired the manuscript in 1866 it might be thought he would have sold it on his trip to Paris in 1868. But, as we have seen, he must in fact have sold it on a trip in 1877. The Russo-Turkish war also marked the declaration of the independence of Romania from the Ottoman Empire, on May 24, 1877. Before this took place, a massive Russian army had marched through Romania, in April 1877. It was perhaps the uncertainty of the situation at that time which suggested to Erbiceanu that he should take the manuscript to Paris and sell it. It is worth recording that Erbiceanu had critics in Romania who accused him of acquiring ancient manuscripts and selling them to wealthy collectors. Although the Romanian scholar Leonidas Rados in 2000 dismissed these stories as unfounded,[22] the history of the lectionary would seem to bear out at least some aspects of the charge.

In 1885/86 Erbiceanu published a catalogue of Greek manuscripts in Romania in the form of a series of contributions to the Romanian periodical *Revista Teologica*. The catalogue was later reproduced in a much abbreviated form, in Greek, in a periodical published in Istanbul in 1888.[23] Erbiceanu's name appeared here in its Greek form. Interestingly, the catalogue of 1888 included eleven manuscripts from Erbiceanu's own library, and one was a Gospel lectionary on parchment. But this lectionary cannot have been the one that went to Paris, for it had been sold by Erbiceanu in 1877, long before the catalogue of 1885/86–88 was compiled.

In the Possession of Chrysanthos, Patriarch of Jerusalem

If we can be confident that Erbiceanu found the Gospel lectionary in one of the monasteries of Mount Athos in 1866, for he had no reason to falsify this information when he recorded it on folio 190r, we are completely uninformed as to how the manuscript got to the Holy Mountain. Chronologically, the next information we have is provided by the conspicuous note in the lower margin of folio 3r (the first original page of the manuscript; fig. 9), beneath the decorated opening of the lection for Easter Sunday. It records the lectionary as the possession of a certain Chrysanthos of Jerusalem (the name is written as a monocondylion signature—a form of writing employing a single continuous line, traditional in a religious context) with the date December 1707: "The present divine holy Gospel belongs [word erased, probably "to me"] + Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, 1707, in the month of December."[24] This Chrysanthos was Chrysanthos Notaras, patriarch of Jerusalem from 1707 to 1731, an important figure of the so-called Greek Enlightenment, a movement that sought to introduce Western Enlightenment ideas into a Greek context both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. He had studied at the university of Padua, and then in Paris. A prolific author in various fields, including mathematics, astronomy, and geography, and a polemicist for religious orthodoxy, Chysanthos Notaras was also an important participant in the transfer of Greek manuscripts to the West. Archbishop Wake of Canterbury, for example, acquired through the agency of the chaplain at the British embassy, Thomas Payne, numerous books from him, which he later presented to Christ Church, Oxford.[25]

Chrysanthos Notaras spent most of his career in Constantinople (modern Istanbul), rather than in Jerusalem, and most of his library became part of that of the metochion (dependency) of the Holy Sepulchre (Agiou Taphou) on the island of Chalke, in the Sea of Marmara, near the metropolis. He does not reveal where he acquired the lectionary, but a source in the city of Constantinople or its environs seems likely. There is an interesting account by the French priest Abbé Sevin, acting as agent for Louis XV, of his dealings with Patriarch Chrysanthos, which reflects more generally on the state of manuscripts in the Levant in the early eighteenth century, and on Chrysanthos's attitude toward such manuscripts:

> *The welcome he [Sevin] received from the patriarch of Jerusalem [Chrysanthos Notaras] was equally polite, but much more genuine [than that accorded him by the patriarch of Constantinople]. He [Chrysanthos] loves France and men of letters in particular. . . . Monsieur the Abbé Sevin having let him know, shortly before his departure, that he would be very pleased to have a transcription of a manuscript Homer, the principal jewel of his [the patriarch's] library, he not only gave permission, but, satisfied with the copy, gave the original to M. de Villeneuve, French ambassador to the Porte. . . . This was not the only fruit of [Abbé Sevin's] liaisons with the patriarch of Jerusalem. . . . [In] the monasteries that are in the environs of Constantinople he discovered . . . some unpublished fragments of Chrysostom, . . . discourses of Theodoret . . . the Romance of Josaphat [i.e., Barlaam and Ioasaph], and a commentary on Saint Luke . . . both of which [latter books] appear to be of the tenth century. The former is illuminated with miniatures, which are for the most part very well preserved.*
>
> *The harvest [of manuscripts] would doubtless have been even more plentiful were the Greeks of today not sunk in the grossest ignorance. Their manuscripts are usually housed in a very dirty room, the least frequented in the monastery. Nobody bothers to read them and they are the victims of insects and rot. In a monastery on the Prince's Island I saw about two hundred manuscripts, and from among those numerous volumes it was scarcely possible to gather together thirty complete folios. One day, when [I was] complaining bitterly to the patriarch of Jerusalem about the negligence of*



Fig. 9. Ownership note and signature of Chrysanthos Notaras, patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 1707. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 3r (detail)



Fig. 10. The Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. gr. 543, fols. 3v–4r)

his countrymen, he recounted the following anecdote. "When I was about to take possession of my patriarchal throne, chance took me to a monastery where I discovered a room full of manuscripts. My activities not permitting me to carry them off at that time, I postponed this to another occasion. Some time later I returned to the same house, but the manuscripts had disappeared. I asked the abbot about them and he answered me naively, that they had recently received a novice, and lacking a room for him they had thrown the ancient parchment volumes, which were completely useless to the community, into the river which ran past the monastery."

It is easy to see from this account how important it would be to remove the few manuscripts still remaining in the Levant.[26]

The patriarch of Jerusalem presented Louis XV with the magnificent illuminated copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (now Bibliothèque Nationale de France [BnF], Paris, Ms. gr. 543; fig. 10) at an unknown date, and in 1723 (when Louis was thirteen—the gift was diplomatic, not personal) also presented the liturgical roll (BnF Ms. gr. 408).[27] It is not clear whether it was he who gave the Jaharis Lectionary to some Athonite monastery, but this seems plausible.

It is striking evidence of a continuing long-term enthusiasm in France for collecting Greek manuscripts that although Chrysanthos did not present (or sell) the lectionary to Louis XV, it nonetheless found its way to Paris almost two centuries later.

Earlier Users Leave Their Marks

Before 1707, the whereabouts of the lectionary are obscure, and it is unlikely that it will ever be possible to shed more than the feeblest light on the long period from this date back to the twelfth century. We are reduced to recording

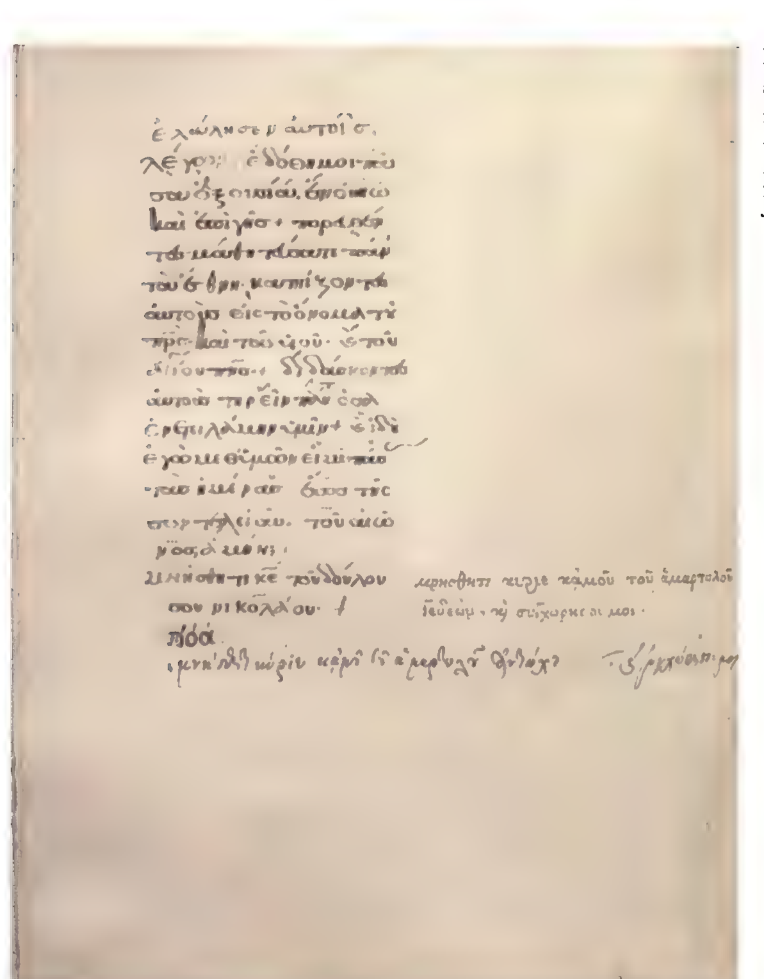


Fig. 11. Close of the final synaxarion lection, with line added, at top of column, by an unknown user (date unknown), main text supplied and a prayer added, at bottom, by a user named Nicholas (possibly 13th or 14th century). Later prayers added by Gedeon and by [name erased] Antiochos. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 252v

the contributions of a small number of users, of uncertain date. For some reason the end of the last lection in the synaxarion section (which contains the readings for the movable calendar), Matthew 28:1–20, breaks off incomplete at the bottom of folio 252r. The missing part, verses 18–20, was later provided by a certain Nicholas, who also added his name with a prayer on folio 252v (fig. 11): "Remember, Lord, your servant Nicholas."[28] The script suggests a date in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but no precise location.

Strangely, Nicholas omitted the first line in the column of the text on this page, which was supplied by yet another hand. Later still, two further users of the book added their names and a prayer. Alongside Nicholas's addition is written: "Lord, also remember me, your sinful servant Gedeon, and forgive me."[29] The script is imitative and hard to date—perhaps about 1700? Below, in an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand, the same formula is repeated: "Lord also remember me, your sinful servant [name erased]

Fig. 12. Note recommending specific lections, by an unknown user (18th or 19th century). Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 42v (detail)

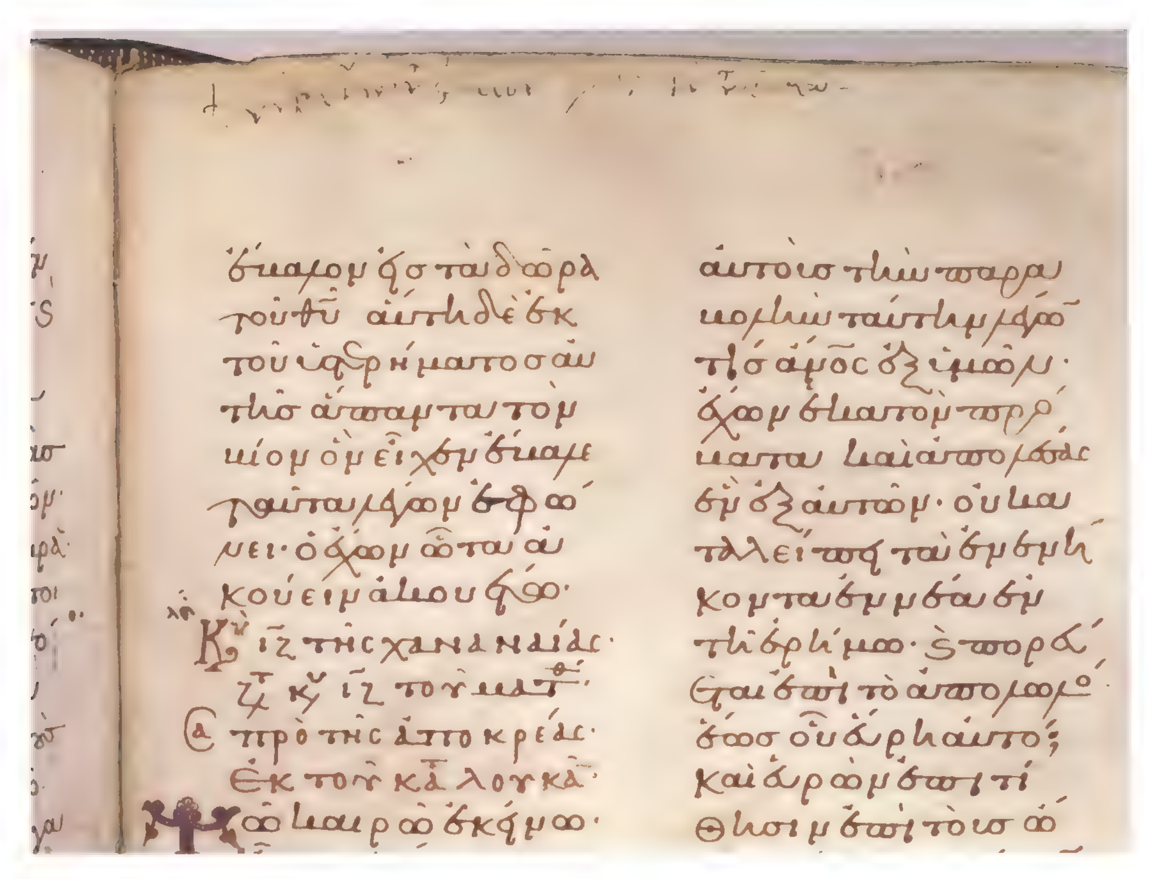


Fig. 13. Note correcting a rubric, by an unknown user (date unknown). Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 171r (detail)

Antiochos, and forgive me."[30] The name Antiochos in the genitive might mean "of Antioch," but as it is quite commonly found as a surname without geographical implications its significance here should not be overestimated. Also of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date would appear to be the note on folio 42v (fig. 12), drawing the reader's attention to the value of this lection (Jn 7:37–8:12), and that on the facing folio (Mt 18:10–20). In the top margin of folio 171r is a note correcting the rubric (fig. 13). Its date is uncertain. Finally, looking through the book, we find added on a blank part of folio 310r a list of the eleven morning (*eothina*) resurrection lections (fig. 14), which is perhaps fifteenth century in date.

Apart from these notes, the story of the Jaharis Lectionary is unrecorded for most of the many centuries between the time of its manufacture, about 1100, and the eighteenth or nineteenth century. In order to shed light on the lectionary's origins, therefore, we must take a much broader historical perspective and attempt to locate the history of this one book within a larger context.

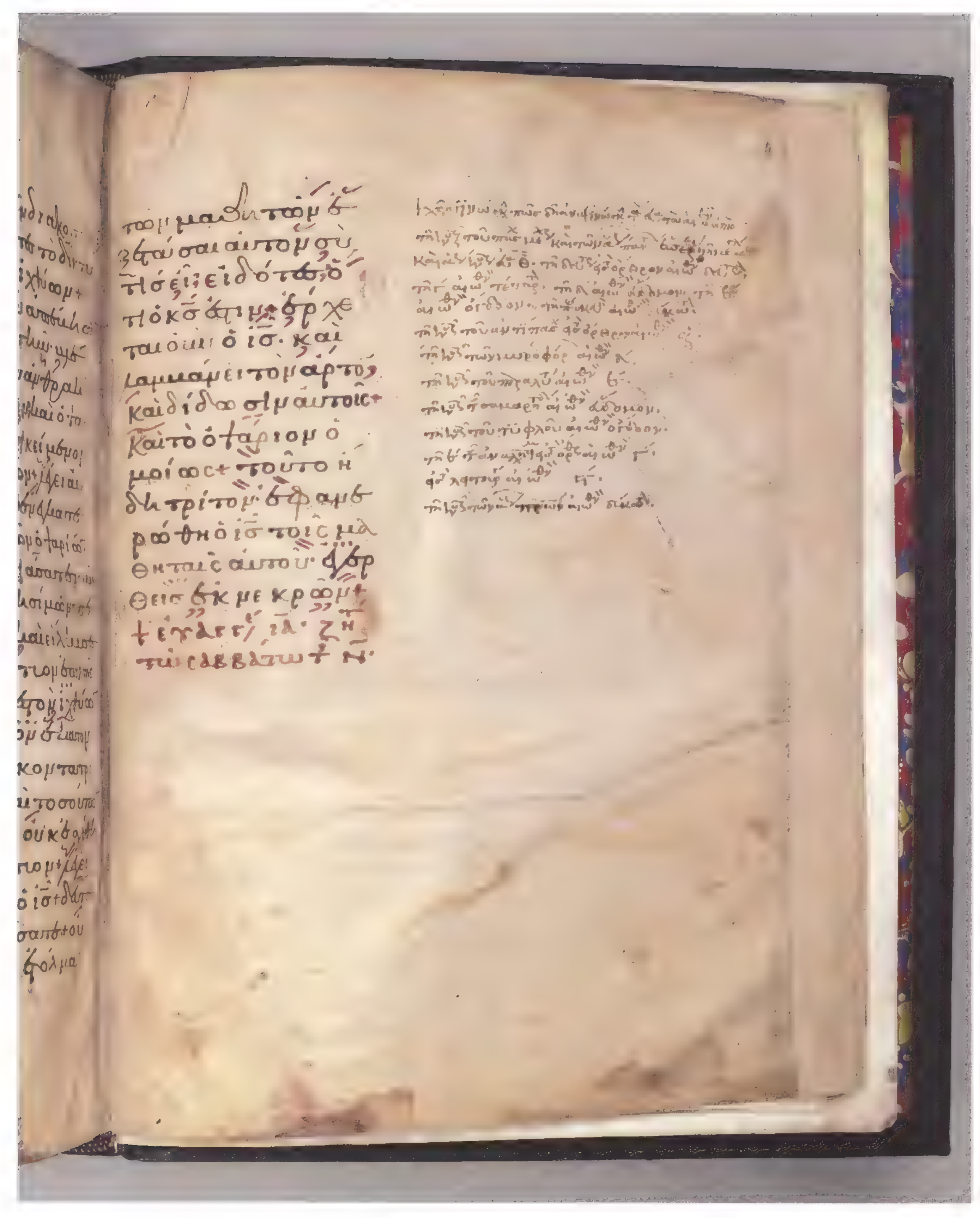


Fig. 14. List of morning resurrection lections added, in right column, by an unknown user (possibly 15th century). Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 310r



καὶ τοῦ με-
γάλου ἐμπρησμοῦ:
Γίνεται δὲ καὶ σύνα-
ξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας θ(εοτό)κου
ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατεί-
οις ἤγουν τῶν Μιασινῶν· ς
ἐν μὲν τῷ φόρῳ καὶ εἰς
τὴν λειτουργ(ίαν) τῆς μεγά(λης)
ἐκκλησίας. ἀναγινώ-
σκεται εὐαγγέλιον:

ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ:

Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ·
ἦλθεν ὁ ἰ(ησοῦ)ς εἰς τὴν
Ναζαρέτ· οὗ ἦν τε-
θραμμένος· καὶ εἰ-
σῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς
αὐτῷ· ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν
σαββάτων εἰς τὴν
συναγωγήν· καὶ ἐπε-
δόθη αὐτῷ βιβλίον
ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου·
καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὸ
βιβλίον· εὗρε τὸν τό-
πον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον·
πνεῦμα κ(υρίο)υ ἐπ' ἐμέ· οὗ εἵ-
νεκεν ἔχρισέ με εὐαγ-
γελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς·
ἀπέσταλκέ με· ἰάσασθαι
τοὺς συντετριμμένους
τὴν καρδίαν· κηρύξαι
αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν·
καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλε-
ψιν· ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυ-
σμένους ἐν ἀφέσει·
κηρύξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κ(υρίο)υ
δεκτόν· καὶ πτύξας
τὸ βιβλίον ἀποδοὺς
τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ἐκάθισε

RECONSTRUCTING USE

The Gospel Lectionary in Byzantium

If the original makers and users of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary had referred in writing to this book, they would almost certainly have termed it an *evangelion*.[1] The primary meaning of the Greek word is "good news" (which is the literal meaning of the English "Gospel," from Old English "godspel"). *Evangelion* is frequently used in this sense in the New Testament itself, most conspicuously in the opening words of the Gospel according to Mark: "The beginning of the gospel [in the genitive case—*tou evangeliou*] of Jesus Christ."[2] The word *evangelion*, however, took on a wide range of supplementary meanings in the early Christian centuries, to such an extent that G. W. H. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961), which focuses on "the theological and ecclesiastical vocabulary of the Greek Christian authors from Clement of Rome [first century A.D.] to Theodore of Studium [d. 826]," requires seven columns of small print to explore that range.[3]

For centuries, *evangelion* was the term not just for the message but also for its container, that is to say, the book that contained the Gospel or Gospels. The evangelion, as a book, was regarded as a symbol of God: it was placed on a throne at church councils, and on the altar during the liturgy (*leitourgia*), here meaning the Mass or the sacrament of Communion. It was carried in processions inside and outside the church, and displayed to the public. At the same time, the term *evangelion* (plural *evangelia*) was also used to describe the passage(s)—lection(s)—from the Gospels that were read in public during the celebration of the liturgy.

It was perhaps about A.D. 700, after the ecumenical church council of 691 (as hypothesized by Robert Taft), that the Gospel readings for the liturgy, which up to that time must have been read from a copy of the four Gospels, appropriately marked, were first gathered together systematically in the order in which they were required for use.[4] (It should be noted that in Byzantium copies of the complete Bible were a rarity, whereas books of the Gospels were ubiquitous.) The earliest purpose-made lectionaries, or fragments of such lectionaries, that survive are from the eighth or more likely the ninth century. Such books did not become commonplace, however, until a relatively late date: only four extant manuscripts with explicit dates are from before the year 1000, and the earliest of these is from 967.[5] Nonetheless, by the conclusion of the Iconoclast controversy in 843—the start of what modern scholars have defined as the Middle Byzantine period (ending in 1261)—there were without doubt two forms of evangelion (as book) in general circulation: the evangelion with the four Gospels in the usual order (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), and the evangelion with selected passages for reading in the liturgy, which broadly followed the order John, Matthew, Luke, Mark. Whereas the four Gospels began with Christ's ancestry and birth as recounted in the opening of Matthew, the Gospel lectionary began with Easter Sunday, and the opening of John's Gospel, which commences with a definition of the Godhead ("In the beginning was the Word . . .") and continues with an account of the preaching of John the Baptist.

Although the Gospel lectionary was the new type of book, it was, surprisingly, the long-familiar book of the four Gospels that came to be identified by a new term. Henceforth, it was generally known as the *tetraevangelon* or sometimes *tetraevangelion*.[6] This word (or words) was (were) coined in a period later than that covered in the *Patristic Greek Lexicon*. But by the time the Jaharis Lectionary was made, about 1100, a Gospel lectionary, cited in a will or inventory, for example, was termed an *evangelion*, whereas a Gospel book was a *tetraevangelon*. In his will of 1059, for instance, a wealthy provincial called Eustathios Boïlas distinguishes between "[m]y highly prized or rather my priceless treasure, the holy and sacred *evangelion*, written in gold letters throughout, containing golden images of the four evangelists, with enamel decorations [on the cover], a purple binding, and silver-gilt plaits [straps to keep the binding tightly closed]" and "[a] small and poor *tetraevangelon*."[7] In the inventory of the monastery of Patmos, drawn up in 1200, the list of books begins with five *evangelia* with

Opposite: Fig. 15. Opening page of the menologion, September 1. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 253r

precious metal covers (distinguished as "Saturday-Sunday" [*sabbatokyriakon*] or everyday [*kathēmerinon*] volumes; see below), followed by a listing of the *tetraevangela*.[8]

The Byzantines had a profound fear of innovation or novelty (they termed it *kainotomia*)[9] in religious matters. Such novelty was held by the church, and by extension the state, to be one of the defining characteristics of heresy.[10] Heresy, because it was displeasing to God, was a threat to the empire, which was regarded as dependent on divine approval for its survival. This was why religious novelty was dangerous. It may be, therefore, that there was a deliberate decision to call the new book (the lectionary) by the traditional name (evangelion), thus disguising its novelty, while the traditional volume (which nobody could think of as novel) was referred to by a new name. Unfortunately, in the twenty-first century it is all too possible to imagine a society in which novelty and originality were viewed with such anxiety.

The details of the early history of Gospel lectionaries are obscure. We do not know precisely how or where or when the choice and sequence of Gospel lections were determined. But by the period when the Jaharis Lectionary was made, about 1100, the production of such books was long established. Fortunately, therefore, the lack of information on the origins of the Gospel lectionary as such will not prevent us from understanding the making of this particular book. Rather than look far back in time, we need to ask: Was there a standard form of Byzantine Gospel lectionary about 1100? Does the Jaharis manuscript correspond to such a standard? Does it have special features, and if so, what are they, and what do they indicate? To answer such questions means first continuing our broad survey a little further.

Once the basic concept of the Greek Gospel lectionary was accepted, the Byzantines developed three different types of such a book.[11] A small number of surviving Gospel lectionaries, twenty or more, have readings for only a small selection of days, scattered through the year. All such books are of special interest, because the nature of the selection can reveal the purpose that the lectionary was intended to serve. In addition, such so-called select lectionaries are often remarkable for the quality of their materials and the lavishness of their presentation. They presuppose the existence of more workaday copies to cover the readings for the "nonselect" days. A few examples of select lectionaries are discussed below, but a major investigation of all such manuscripts would be a rewarding project for some other occasion. Most select lectionaries, it must be said, have been overlooked by art historians, because they do not contain figurative images.[12]

The vast majority of the 2,200 surviving (Greek) Gospel lectionaries have readings for the entire year. They start with the opening of Saint John's Gospel, the reading for the liturgy on Easter Sunday (the high point of the church year). The lections are then subdivided into two major categories. First are those for the movable calendar (called in these manuscripts the synaxarion), which is defined by the changing date of Easter. These lections are followed in a shorter section by those for the fixed calendar, starting on September 1, the commencement of the civil year in Byzantium. This section is here called the menologion (Greek *mēnologion*). To these two categories, synaxarion and menologion, are added lections or groups of lections for Holy Week (preceding Easter) and for various other dates and occasions throughout the year (further discussed below). It should be noted that the terms *synaxarion* and *menologion* used in these books, and also in this study, have different meanings in other contexts (as we shall see).[13]

The nonselect Byzantine Gospel lectionaries can be further subdivided, as we saw in the Patmos inventory, into so-called Saturday-Sunday lectionaries and everyday (or unabridged or "weekday") lectionaries. Somewhat confusingly, both types initially follow the same pattern: they include lections for Saturdays, Sundays, and all five weekdays for the seven weeks from Easter to Pentecost. Because most of the readings prescribed for this period are from John's Gospel, this is often termed the Johannine section. In the subsequent Matthean and Lukan sections, however, the Saturday-Sunday lectionaries omit the weekday readings. But in the final Markan section, the period of Lent, the two types of lectionary fall back into step, and here both have only the Saturday-Sunday lections. The Jaharis manuscript is an example of an "everyday" lectionary. Its contents imply that it was intended to be used—or at least could potentially have been used—in a church where the liturgy was celebrated every day (except during Lent). For the most part, such churches in Byzantium were monastic,[14] but they were joined by Hagia Sophia, the cathedral church of Constantinople and the seat of the patriarch, from the middle of the eleventh century, when Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–54) made a large donation in gold, at some point during his reign, specifically to enable the liturgy to be celebrated daily.[15] Given this development, an everyday lectionary made



Fig. 16. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. State Historical Museum, Moscow (Ms. Synod. gr. 511, fols. 28v–29r)

before about 1050 should in theory have been intended for monastic use, whereas after about 1050 it could have been either for a monastic church or for one that followed the use of Hagia Sophia. As we shall see, and it can hardly be a coincidence, there was an extraordinary flourishing in the production of lavishly decorated lectionaries over a relatively short period, from the mid-eleventh century to the early twelfth. Because both the absolute and the relative chronology of these books are very hard to establish, I have attributed most of them to a date "about 1100." This should be understood as a broad approximation, including material that might be a generation or two before or after the year 1100 itself.

Most Byzantine lectionaries are large-format books with relatively large script for ease of reading. A few of the select lectionaries, such as one now in Moscow (fig. 16), are even written in a script of greatly exaggerated size, allowing for only a few lines of text per page. And a few are written entirely in gold ink (see fig. 21), the most costly procedure that could be imagined. Most lectionaries have the text laid out in two columns, to make them easier to read. Relatively few such books have images. Presumably there would have been little chance to study images in a book intended for public recital, rather than for private meditation. Nonetheless, those lectionaries that do have images are among the most carefully, and in some cases the most lavishly, illustrated Byzantine books to have survived. It is with these books that the Jaharis Lectionary has the closest connections.

The liturgy of the Byzantine Rite, as it is now called, specified a particular role for the book from which the Gospel lection was read.[16] At the start of the liturgy (later termed the First or Little Entrance), the Gospel was carried into the church in procession by a deacon, followed by the celebrant, and placed on the altar. It was subsequently carried by a deacon to the ambo, from which the Gospel lection was read (or more probably chanted), before being carried back again to the altar by the deacon. The book's covers might be embellished, like those of the Skeuophylakion Lectionary, in the Great Lavra at Mount Athos (fig. 17), or the evangelion mentioned by Eustathios Boïlas, above, with precious metals, enamels, and gems, in recognition of the volume's importance.[17] As we shall see, the Jaharis Lectionary was made for use in Hagia Sophia, or another patriarchal church in Constantinople served by the same clergy, and this would have rendered the lection-



Fig. 17. Front cover with image of Christ. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, 12th century. Repoussé gold, cloisonné enamel, gold filigree, pearls, cabochon-set gems, rock crystal over parchment, on a gilded base. Skeuophylakion (Treasury) of the Great Lavra, Mount Athos

ary's public role even more conspicuous. About 1100, the Order of the Holy Liturgy according to the Rite of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) specified that the pontiff (*archiereus*; literally, "archpriest") kiss the Gospel that had been carried in procession by the archdeacon. Before the reading, the Gospel was censed by the pontiff at the altar, and the reading announced by the archdeacon with the exclamation: "Wisdom, arise, let us listen to the holy Gospel" (*Sophia, orthoi, akousōmen tou agiou evangeliou*).[18] In Hagia Sophia, which was famed for the lavishness of its liturgical celebrations, multiple Gospel lectionaries were required in the same service on certain occasions. For example, on the vigil of Christmas two copies of the Gospel were needed, one to stand on the altar and the other to be placed on the patriarch's throne, which he left empty.[19] On the vigil of Epiphany no fewer than three Gospels were required: one for the altar, one for the patriarch's throne, and a third to be given to the deacon to read. Each was carried in procession to the altar at the start of the service by a deacon.[20] For Good Friday and Easter Saturday in Hagia Sophia, the use of a particularly magnificent lectionary (termed a *megaleion*) was stipulated.[21]

Using the Jaharis Lectionary

Given its function in the liturgy, a Gospel lectionary (or a Gospel book marked up for use as a lectionary) was the



Fig. 18. Layout of the synaxarion showing readings from the Matthean section. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 48v–49r

only type of Byzantine book that was likely to have a lavishly decorated exterior. The Jaharis manuscript's binding was renewed after its acquisition by Henri Bordier in 1877 (see the chapter "Retracing History" and figs. 3, 81–84). It is a reasonable guess that the lectionary would originally have had a binding reveted with precious metals and possibly gems and enamels, but doubtless it would have been stripped of its elements of value long before 1877. We shall return to this topic below.

When the book is opened, it can at once be seen that the pages of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary are laid out clearly for use. The book has no index, and originally had no foliation, yet it is easy to find your way to a particular passage. We can look briefly at the layout of the two principal parts of the book, the synaxarion and the menologion. Each lection in the synaxarion (fig. 18) begins with an enlarged initial, some three or four lines high, located in the margin alongside the opening of the text, and executed either in gold, with plantlike forms in blue, green, and red, or in plain gold. Most of the lections begin with one of two opening formulas (which are added to the biblical text): "At that time . . ." (*Tō kairō ekeinō* . . .) or "The Lord said . . ." (*Eipen o Kyrios* . . .). Most of the decorated initials, therefore, are Ts or Es.

A condensed indexing system guides the user, indicating the day on which the lection is to be read in a highly abbreviated form (using letters for numbers). For example, at the top of the two columns on folio 48v, shown in figure 18, we read: ***Τγ τ Β εβδ*** (On the third day [Tuesday] of the second week [of this sequence of lections]); on the facing page, folio 49r, we read: ***Τη Δ τ Β εβδ*** (On the fourth [day, i.e., Wednesday] of the second week [of this sequence of lections]) and ***Τη Ε τ Β εβδο*** (On the fifth [day, i.e., Thursday] of the second week [of this sequence of lections]). These references are written in gold above the column in which the text begins. Yet another marker for the reader, also written in gold, was inserted at the incipit (opening words) of the text: *Ek tou kata Matth* (From the [Gospel] according to Matth[ew])—three times on these two folios. These instructions were made conspicuous not merely by being written in gold but also by the use of a special display script (discussed in the chapter "Exploring Manufacture"). So long as the user knew what day of the week it was, and which week it was, it would have been easy to find the correct lection.



Fig. 19. Layout of the menologion, end of September and opening page of October. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 260v–261r

The menologion is laid out in a similarly clear way, but requires a little more explanation. The menologion combines calendrical information with cross-references to lections included elsewhere in the book, plus the text of some lections in full. If we look at the beginning of October (fig. 19), for example, we read the following below the decorative headband on folio 260v:

In the month of October, first [day]

1 [Commemoration] of the holy apostle and martyr Ananias
See the [lection for the] seventh Saturday of Luke
On the same day [commemoration] of blessed Romanos the Melode, see the third day [Tuesday] of the fifth week of Luke.

2 [Commemoration of] the holy martyrs Kyprianos and Justin, see the thirteenth of this month [October].

3 [Commemoration] of the holy martyr Dionysios the Areopagite
From [the Gospel] according to Matthew
"The Lord spoke this parable, 'The kingdom of heaven is like a merchant man seeking fine pearls . . .'" [Mt 13:45].

The lection continues onto the facing page, folio 261r, ending, "when he was come into his own country he taught them in their synagogue" (Mt 13:54). This is followed by a listing of the commemorations for October 4, and so on.

It should be noted that because the calendrical entries are formulaic, they remain comprehensible although written in a highly abbreviated form (as with the running heads in the synaxarion): "See the thirteenth of this month" is written as the equivalent of "S[ee] the 13th o[f] th[is] mo[nth]." Certain descriptive terms in the menologion are also heavily abbreviated: apostle, martyr and hieromartyr, holy/saint (*agios*), blessed (*osios*), our father, the homologete (confessor), and so forth. Some of the abbreviations are even formed into monograms (notably a Greek *mu* bisected vertically by a Greek *rho* for "martyr"), with a plural ("martyrs") indicated by a repetition of the monogram.

In order to understand more fully how the Jaharis Lectionary was used we need at this point to draw up a summary of its contents. We shall move rapidly through the book, noting where new texts begin (folio numbers are listed at the left):

i–ii These are modern parchment leaves to strengthen the binding, left blank.

1–2 This is a reused tenth-century parchment bifolio containing text of John Chrysostom inserted to strengthen the binding.

3r The first page of major decoration. It is entitled "The Holy and Great Sunday of Easter from the Gospel according to John." This marks the start of lections primarily from John, for Easter Sunday to Pentecost (all Saturdays-Sundays and weekdays).

42v End of the sequence of Johannine lections. A later note (of the eighteenth century?) refers to liturgical use.

43r The second page of major decoration. It is entitled "From the [Gospel] according to Matthew." This marks the start of lections mainly from Matthew, beginning on the Monday after Pentecost and continuing for seventeen weeks (all Saturdays-Sundays and weekdays).

108r End of the sequence of Matthean lections. Three-quarters of the page was left blank.

108v This page was also left blank.

109r The third page of major decoration. It is entitled "From the [Gospel] according to Luke." This marks the start of lections mainly from Luke, beginning on the first Monday after September 14 and continuing for nineteen weeks to the start of Lent (all Saturdays-Sundays and weekdays).

188r Lections for vigils of the first week of Lent.

189v End of sequence of Lukan lections. Half of the right column was left blank.

190r This page was left blank; later notes were added.

190v This page was left blank.

191r The fourth page of major decoration. It is entitled "From the [Gospel] according to Mark." This marks the start of lections mainly from Mark, beginning with the first Saturday of Lent and continuing for six weeks to Palm Sunday (the start of Passion week, the week before Easter). The lections are for Saturdays and Sundays only. This is followed by the lections for Holy Week.[22]

223v "Gospels of the Holy Sufferings of Our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ." The twelve lections of the Passion, the last lection included only as a cross-reference. These were read during an all-night vigil on the Thursday to Friday of Holy Week.[23]

242r "Gospels of the Hours of Holy and Great Friday." Four lections for reading at the canonical hours of Good Friday (the equivalent of prime, terce, sext, and none in the Western tradition).[24]

247r Lection for the liturgy of Good Friday.

251r Lection for orthros (matins) of Holy Saturday.

251r Lection for the liturgy of Holy Saturday.

253r Start of the menologion, September 1. Each month is introduced by an illuminated headband.

260v Start of October.

265r Start of November.

268r Start of December.

275v Start of January.

282v Start of February.

285v Start of March.

287v Start of April.

288v Start of May.

291r Start of June.

297r Start of July.

299v Start of August.

305r Start of lections for various commemorations, identified as taking place at the Great Church. Illuminated headband.

307r Start of eleven morning (eothina) lections of the Anastasis (Resurrection).[25] Illuminated headband. These were read in a cycle on Sundays from the first Sunday after Pentecost to the Sunday before Palm Sunday.

310r Conclusion of the original lections; later liturgical notes (of the fifteenth century?) have been added.

310v This page was left blank.

311r–312v This reused bifolio with text from a menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes was inserted to strengthen the binding.

313 This reused leaf with text of John Chrysostom was inserted as a pastedown to strengthen the binding.

The most promising of these lections, in terms of what they can reveal about the origin and destination of this

book, are the calendrical entries in the menologion, and it is on these that we shall now concentrate our attention.

The Jaharis Lectionary Menologion

It is clear that about the year 1100, a scribe producing a copy of the four Gospels would be most unlikely to indicate where he came from, or for whom he was writing, by modifying or personalizing the biblical text he was producing. Sometimes scribes did leave information about themselves, but it was almost always in the form of a colophon, often phrased as a prayer. In a Gospel lectionary now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. suppl. gr. 1096; fig. 20), we read the following colophon on folio 329r:

> *This sacred and immaculate book was finished by the zeal of Constantine the presbyter, least among priests, and created by spiritual desire, on the twentieth of January in the year 6578 [A.D. 1070], the eighth indiction [in the cycle of fifteen years observed by the civil administration], and written by the hand of Peter, master of the school of [the church in] Chalkoprateia. Readers of this pray for them to the Lord.*
> *"As travelers rejoice on their homeland to look*
> *So, too, do scribes on ending a book."*
> *Writer and organizer [we beseech] Christ be my savior.*[26]



Fig. 20. End of "various" lections and scribal colophon. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, dated January 1070, written by Peter, master of the school of Chalkoprateia. Ink on parchment. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. suppl. gr. 1096, fol. 329r)

The last three lines are in dodecasyllabic verse, and the poetic formula "As travelers rejoice . . ." was widely used by scribes.

Even were he working in, for example, Jerusalem, a scribe would not highlight mentions of the city in the text he was producing. The word of God, as preserved in a *tetraevangelon*, could not be adapted to suit local circumstances in such a fashion. It is worth emphasizing what might seem an obvious point about the Gospel book, for the Gospel lectionary (evangelion), although it, too, contained the word of God, was treated very differently. By definition, a lectionary consisted merely of selections from the Gospels, carefully arranged in a new order, which sometimes ignored the Gospel order (especially for the weekday lections), and a lection might even be assembled from several short biblical passages. The first Sunday reading from Matthew in the Jaharis Lectionary (folios 47r–47v), for instance, was assembled from three excerpts from chapters 10 and 19 of Matthew:

> *[The Lord said to his disciples:] "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven [Mt 10:32–33]. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me"[Mt 10:37–38]. Then Peter answered and said, "Behold we have forsaken all and followed thee. What shall we have therefore?" And Jesus said unto them, "Verily I say unto you that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first" [Mt 19:27–30].*

It might be expected, then, that a Byzantine lectionary would show unambiguous evidence of its place of production or intended use, especially given that in the years around 1100 such books were used over a vast area, embracing the Holy Land, southern Italy and Sicily, Greece and the Balkans, Asia Minor and the Black Sea littoral.

Occasionally such books can indeed be localized by analysis of the choice or choices of text and/or illustration that they exemplify. Let us take as an example a magnificent lectionary, one with merely a selection of lections, now at Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai (Ms. gr. 204). The selection of Gospel lections in that book's synaxarion does not point to a particular use, but in the menologion (also selective) there are two notable entries. On May 10 there is a celebration of the *egkainia* (feast of dedication) of "our monastery of the Theotokos." Reference to a church (or monastery) dedicated to the Theotokos, the Mother of God, does not help to pin the book down, for such churches (and monasteries) were innumerable. The mention of a certain Petros on February 7 is more helpful. For that day there is a lection for orthros (matins) that commemorates one "Osios Petros" (Our Holy Father Petros; fig. 21).[27] The Petros (Peter) in question was not the apostle of that name but an obscure confessor (a saint who led a holy life, but not a martyr), Peter of Monobata.[28] When we see that the full-page frontispiece images in this book comprise standing figures of Christ and the Theotokos, the four evangelists, and "Osios Petros" (fig. 22), the close connection of this book with Saint Peter of Monobata is apparent. The Sinai lectionary, written entirely in large gold script, is one of the most lavish and superbly executed Byzantine manuscripts to survive. Yet its contents show that it was made for use in a monastery, even the whereabouts of which is now unknown, with a link to a now-obscure saint. Without the evidence of the commemorative text and the full-page image, the book's relationship with Saint Peter of Monobata would never have been suspected. Finally, it is important to note that in this case the evidence tells us where the manuscript was destined to be *used*, not necessarily where it was *made*. A book of such quality would in all probability have been produced in Constantinople for export to the church or monastery associated with Saint Peter of Monobata (perhaps in Monobata, wherever that was), not in the monastery itself. It is not known how or when it reached Saint Catherine's Monastery.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, select lectionaries like Sinai gr. 204 are only a tiny proportion of the surviving total (about 1 percent). Moreover, knowledge that such books were in all likelihood commissioned for use in places scattered over a vast geographical area does not yield a comparably wide range and variety of data. The evidence in the western part of Europe is very different. In the West during the later Middle Ages, liturgical "uses"—liturgies with modifications peculiar to a local church—are numerous: the use of Sarum, the use of Rome, the use of Rouen, and so forth. Even so, a use-of-Sarum (i.e., Salisbury) book might have been made in Flanders for export to England, while a use-of-Rome book might have been made in and for a user in Paris, even though there were use-of-Paris books, of which we have many surviving examples. In such cases, the evidence of calendars or litanies (lists of saints to whom prayer is addressed) is often helpful in localizing the production or intended destination of such books. Both calendars and litanies may include characteristic local saints (Baavus for Ghent or Zenobius for Florence, for example) or new saints who provide a chronological terminus: Thomas Becket (canonized 1173), Dominic (1234), Louis IX of France (1297), and so forth.

In contrast to the Western situation, the vast majority of Byzantine lectionaries, no matter where they were written or intended to be employed, correspond to a "use of Constantinople." This makes the task of localizing such books very hard. In the present state of knowledge, the synaxarion of the Jaharis Lectionary (or any other weekday or Saturday-Sunday lectionary) cannot, I think, be reckoned to yield unequivocal evidence of the local context within which the book was intended to be used. The menologion, however, by its choice of commemorations and the inclusion of certain rubrics, may be helpful, a little like the Western calendar. (There is, unfortunately, no equivalent to the Western litanies in these Byzantine books.) The menologion of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary points, as we shall see, to Constantinople, and more specifically to a close connection to the Great Church of Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. The evidence that leads to these conclusions needs to be considered in detail.

Lectionaries for Hagia Sophia and the Patriarchate

A crucial part in understanding the Jaharis Lectionary is played by the published research and work in progress of two scholars long engaged on major projects on illuminated Byzantine Gospel lectionaries: Mary-Lyon Dolezal,



Fig. 21. Menologion, February 7, opening page of the lection for Our Holy Father Osios Petros. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, 10th century. Gold ink on parchment. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Ms. gr. 204, p. 341)



Fig. 22. Osios Petros. Gospel Lectionary. Tempera and gold on parchment. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Ms. gr. 204, p. 5)

of the University of Oregon, and Tomoyuki Masuda, of Waseda University, Tokyo. Their work complements the 1992 study by Jeffrey C. Anderson, of George Washington University, of the lectionary M. 692 in the Morgan Library, New York.[29] Masuda in 1990 sought to understand a single richly illuminated select lectionary, Dionysiou Ms. 587 (Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos).[30] This he placed within a broad context of illuminated lectionaries. Dolezal's undertaking in 1991 was even more ambitious, amounting to a systematic reconsideration of the textual and visual content of illustrated Byzantine lectionaries of about the year 1100 (including Dionysiou 587) on the basis of a comparative analysis of ninety-two manuscripts.[31] In 2003 Masuda, together with Rie Ebihara, produced a table with a detailed analysis of the entire calendrical content of the menologia from seven patriarchal manuscripts, setting the evidence in parallel columns.[32] He has subsequently expanded this survey to twenty-five manuscripts in an unpublished table which he generously put at my disposal. With Masuda's tables it is possible to compare the calendrical entries for any day by scanning horizontally across the columns of manuscripts. I have adopted a revised version of this type of tabulation for use here and in the appendixes.

With the addition of Dolezal's fundamental article of 1996 on the select lectionary Dionysiou 587,[33] there is now considerable agreement and overlap between her work and Masuda's. In particular, both have focused on identifying a group of Constantinopolitan and specifically patriarchal lectionaries. The Jaharis Lectionary was unknown to either of them, but, as I hope to demonstrate, it fits the pattern of patriarchal lectionaries very well. Within this patriarchal group is a subgroup, the members of which are also remarkable for the miniatures they contain, and as we shall see below, the Jaharis Lectionary is part of this subgroup, too. These illuminated manuscripts include Venice, Istituto Ellenico, San Giorgio dei Greci, Ms. 2 (generally abbreviated here as Venice IE 2);[34] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. gr. 1156 (Vat. gr. 1156);[35] New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M. 639 (Morgan M. 639);[36] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. T inf. 2.7 (Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7);[37] Dionysiou Ms. 587;[38] and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. suppl. gr. 1096 (Paris suppl. gr. 1096).[39] The last of these is the only one to be securely dated and localized. As we have seen above, it was written in 1070 by a scribe who describes himself as "master of the school" of the church in Chalkoprateia.[40] This church, dedicated to the Theotokos, was in effect part of the patriarchate in Constantinople and was served by the clergy of Hagia Sophia. It is with these illuminated books that the Jaharis Lectionary has the closest links. Surprisingly, although the texts of these books are very similar, their illustrations are in important ways very different. It thus makes sense to treat text and image separately, and to use the textual evidence first to link the books together.

A primary task is to set the Jaharis Lectionary's menologion alongside the menologia of the other patriarchal books to establish the extent of their similarity. The Jaharis Lectionary has approximately 771 commemorations (see appendix 1). Leaving aside the jumbled evidence from three points at which the Jaharis scribe shows signs of confusion (discussed below; see tables 7–9), we find that the closest relative among surviving books is the manuscript Morgan M. 639, which includes just four commemorations absent from Jaharis, while omitting just two that Jaharis includes (table 1). The extent of the similarity of the menologia of Jaharis and Morgan M. 639 is thus more than 99 percent. They are very nearly identical (always excepting the three passages in disorder in Jaharis).

In comparison, Venice IE 2 has forty-eight commemorations not found in Jaharis (see appendix 1), but lacks five of those in Jaharis, for an overall identity to Jaharis of 94 percent, which, given the large number of commemorations involved, is still an impressive degree of similarity. But if we compare Venice IE 2 with Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7 (table 2), we find that the Bodleian manuscript has

Table 1
Differences in Choice of Commemorations between the Jaharis Lectionary and Morgan M. 639

Date	*Commemoration*
September 3	Morgan adds Theoktistos
September 20	Morgan adds Theopiste, Agapios, and Theopistos
(October 14–15	disorder of saints in Jaharis)
(October 15	Morgan adds Loukianos)
October 29	Morgan lacks Anastasia
April 6	Morgan adds 120 martyrs
(April 13–21	disorder of saints in Jaharis)
July 7	Morgan lacks Isauros
(July 13–15	disorder of saints in Jaharis)

only two commemorations that differ from those in Venice IE 2, meaning that the overall identity of these two, like that of Jaharis and Morgan, is more than 99 percent.

If we now compare Paris suppl. gr. 1096 with Venice IE 2—the latter representative of the fullest selection of commemorations—we discover that Paris lacks fifteen of Venice's commemorations and has just one addition, yielding an identity to Venice of 98 percent (it should be noted that part of the Paris text is missing and hence has not been taken into account here).[41] Finally, if we compare Vat. gr. 1156 with Venice IE 2, we find the Vatican manuscript lacks thirty-four commemorations in comparison to Venice, and has four extras, giving an overall identity of 95 percent. Thus in the selection of commemorations in their menologia the six manuscripts are very similar. Jaharis is a near-identical twin to Morgan M. 639, as Venice IE 2 is to Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7. Paris suppl. gr. 1096 and Vat. gr. 1156 stand a little apart. The evidence confirms that the menologia of this subgroup of illuminated manuscripts among the patriarchal lectionaries may display a small degree of variety among themselves, amounting perhaps to a difference of about 5 percent.

There are two sources of roughly mid-tenth-century date that might be expected to reveal crucial evidence about the possible use of the Jaharis Lectionary and its patriarchal relatives: these are the Typikon of the Great Church (edited by Juan Mateos [1962–63]) and the Synaxarion of Constantinople (edited by Hippolyte Delehaye [1902]). The first of these is a long document that defines how the liturgy of the Great Church, Hagia Sophia, was to be executed, day by day throughout the year, and it is divided like the Gospel lectionary into two parts (but in reverse order): first, the fixed year starting on September 1, followed by the movable year starting on Easter Sunday. The second comparandum, the Synaxarion of Constantinople, is a lengthy calendar, including hagiographical narratives for an enormous number of saints to be commemorated throughout the year, starting on September 1.

The liturgical information in the Gospel lectionaries under consideration is by no means identical to that in either the published Typikon of the Great Church or the Synaxarion of Constantinople, and these two texts are themselves often in disagreement. A representative instance is that the Synaxarion of Constantinople includes a commemoration of the opening (*anoixia*) of the Great Church on December 22. This entry is also found in the patriarchal lectionaries. But it is not included in the Typikon of the Great Church, which is puzzling. There are also occasions on which the date of a commemoration in the lectionaries differs from that in either or both the Typikon and the Synaxarion, or the commemoration is lacking in one or both. For example, the commemorations of the prophet Jonah and Jonah the father of Theophanes the poet, celebrated on September 22 in the lectionaries and Typikon, are celebrated on September 21 according to the Synaxarion. Meanwhile, the dedication of the Constantinopolitan church of the Theotokos in Petra and the feast of Saint Kodratos are both commemorated on September 21 in the lectionaries, but the church dedication is lacking in the Typikon, and although Saint Kodratos is present in the Typikon, his commemoration is on September 22 in the Synaxarion. There are some saints included in the lectionaries who are lacking in both the Typikon of the Great Church and the Synaxarion of Constantinople, such as Makarios of Jerusalem (February 26). On rare occasions the absence is explicable because the saint in question postdates the mid-tenth-century composition of the Typikon and the Synaxarion: such is the case with Eustathios, an eleventh-century patriarch of

TABLE 2
DIFFERENCES IN CHOICE OF COMMEMORATIONS BETWEEN VENICE IE 2 AND OXFORD AUCT. T INF. 2.7

Date	*Commemoration*
January 22	Venice lacks Timothy
August 11	Venice lacks Euplos

TABLE 3
DIFFERENCES IN CHOICE OF COMMEMORATIONS BETWEEN PARIS. GR. 286 AND CAMBRIDGE UL DD. 8.23

Date	*Commemoration*
October 11	Cambridge lacks Zinais
October 12	Cambridge lacks Empress Theophanou
October 28	Cambridge adds Kosmas and Damianos
April 7	Cambridge lacks Eirene and Chionia
July 6	Cambridge lacks Thomas
August 13	Cambridge lacks Sergios

Note: Information on Paris gr. 286 derived from Masuda and Ebihara, "Synaxaria."

Constantinople (r. 1019–25), commemorated in the lectionaries on May 31. Especially striking are the frequently encountered instructions in the Typikon that a particular commemoration is to be celebrated in a church other than the Great Church (for example, on September 3, 4, and 5),[42] or that it takes the form of a processional liturgy (for example, on November 1, 8, 11, 13, 21, and 30), but no rubrics to this effect are found in the lectionaries.

The close relationship of the Jaharis Lectionary and Morgan M. 639, Venice IE 2, Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7, Vat. gr. 1156, and Paris suppl. gr. 1096 is in strong contrast to the discrepancies between the printed editions of the Typikon of the Great Church and the Synaxarion of Constantinople, and between either or both of them and the lectionaries. Neither the Typikon nor the Synaxarion can be used as the point of reference by which to define the use of any of these lectionaries. We must continue to look at the lectionaries themselves in search of evidence of use and provenance.

*The "*Taxis *and* Akolouthia *for September 1"*

A text of a few pages, not found in the Jaharis Lectionary, plays an important role in associating the group of manuscripts under discussion directly with the patriarchate of Constantinople. This is the "*Taxis* [Order] and *Akolouthia* [Office] for September 1." It focuses on the role of the patriarch, and it concludes by listing those feasts at which the patriarch himself reads the Gospel. The first part of the text was published in 1901 by Aleksei Dmitrievskii from a manuscript in Kiev,[43] and reprinted by Mateos in an appendix to his edition of the Typikon of the Great Church.[44] It is acknowledged to be rare (Dolezal thought it unique to Venice IE 2 among the ninety-two manuscripts she analyzed),[45] but among the manuscripts of our illuminated patriarchal group it is found in both the Venice manuscript and its Oxford twin, Auct. T inf. 2.7. It is also found in two unilluminated Gospel lectionaries, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Ms. gr. 286, studied by Masuda), and the other in the Cambridge University Library (Dd. 8.23). These last two form another pair of twins, with an identity of commemorations of more than 99 percent (table 3).

The text of instructions for the patriarch is located immediately before the start of the menologion in both Venice IE 2 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23. It is written entirely in the special script used for rubrics (see the chapter "Exploring Manufacture") and is entitled "The order and office [*taxis kai akolouthia*] which takes place on September 1 for the start of the indiction when the liturgical procession goes [from Hagia Sophia] to the Forum [of Constantine] and thereafter." (The circular Forum of Constantine, to the southwest of Hagia Sophia, was the ancient center of the Byzantine capital and was often called simply "the Forum." Processions from the Great Church reached the Forum via the city's main colonnaded street.) The text begins:

> *After matins [orthros] the pontiff descends and enters the sanctuary by the side door and recites a prayer litany. The deacon does not say "Bless O Lord," but rather "In peace we pray to the Lord." And after the pontiff or a priest has spoken aloud the prayer of peace, the deacon who has said the litany does not say "Incline our heads," but rather the archdeacon standing behind the pontiff [does so]. The cantors then declaim from the ambo beginning with the great Trisagion [*Agios o Theos, Agios ischyros, Agios athanatos eleēson ēmas, *"Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy Immortal one, have mercy on us"].*[46] *This is sung as far as the Forum, and when the procession reaches the Forum the cantors sing the Gloria to the Trisagion, and after the people have also chanted it the deacon makes the antiphonal prayer. He does not say "Bless O Lord," but "In peace we pray to the Lord," and three antiphons are sung. [The text continues with instructions for the three antiphons.]*
>
> *And after the antiphons the pontiff says the customary earnest prayers:*
>
> *"For the universal stability and prosperity of the holy churches and the union of all, we say 'Lord have mercy' thrice.*
>
> *"For our most pious emperors, for all the people of their palace and army, and the Christ-loving populace, we say 'Lord have mercy' thrice.*
>
> *"For the protection of our city and of all cities and regions unshaken, unburned, unstained by blood, we say 'Lord have mercy' thrice."*
>
> *And he [the pontiff] blesses the people three times and speaks the prayer "For you are holy" and after the Amen he sits down on the throne. Then the deacon says "Wisdom," and the cantor the responsory. . . . [The text gives details.] And then the cantors begin the hymn "Maker of all things" in the second mode, and they go down to the [church of the Theotokos] Chalkoprateoi and commence the liturgy there.*

After further instructions, we encounter another title beneath a wavy gold line (fig. 23). This part of the text is unpublished:

These are the Gospel lections to be read by the patriarch and the pontiffs.

On the Holy and Great Sunday of Easter, from the [Gospel] according to John: "In the beginning was the Word" [Jn 1:1].

On May 11, on the birthday of the city [of Constantinople], from the [Gospel] according to John: "Then the Lord said to his disciples 'As the father hath loved me'" [Jn 15:9].

On June 5, in the liturgical procession of the Kampos [a region of Constantinople, near the Hebdomon], from the [Gospel] according to Matthew: "At that time Jesus entered into a ship and his disciples followed him" [Mt 8:23].

On September 1, for the start of the indiction, in the Forum, let it be known that after the arrival of the pontiff in the Forum after the litē *and the recital of the three antiphons by the lectors and the "Glory to thee," all remaining silent the pontiff makes these invocations: "For the universal stability and prosperity of the holy churches and the unity of all, we say 'Lord have mercy' thrice. For the most pious emperor(s), for all the people of his/their palace and his/their army, and the Christ-loving populace, we say 'Lord have mercy' thrice. For the preservation of our city and all cities and regions unshaken, unburned, unstained by blood, we say 'Lord have mercy' thrice." And then the pontiff makes the sign of the cross over the people three times and then the service takes place. . . . [Mostly this repeats the instructions already given earlier in the text.]*

On September 25, in the liturgical procession of the Kampos, from the [Gospel] according to Luke: "At that time Jesus went into a ship with his disciples" [Lk 8:22].

On the Holy and Great Thursday of the Footwashing, the second [lection], from the [Gospel] according to John: "At that time when Jesus washed the feet of the disciples" [introductory formula to Jn 13:5].

On the Holy and Great Friday of Easter, the Gospel of the Passion, from the [Gospel] according to John: "The Lord said to his disciples 'Now the son of man has been glorified'" [Jn 13:31].

The text then concludes: "Also the catechesis from the Gospel [for Good Friday] ought to have been written [here]."

The "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia*" thus gives detailed information on the liturgical procession for September 1, information that we might expect to find in a euchologion or typikon, types of book that give instructions for the correct performance of services, rather than in a Gospel lectionary. In addition, it lists the occasions at which the patriarch himself read the Gospel lection, and notes the lack of the final catechetical text. The presence of this text in Venice IE 2 and Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7, and in Paris gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23, makes certain their connection with the patriarch. We can even dismiss the doubt expressed by Dmitrievskii and echoed by Mateos, who noted that the officiant was called the "pontiff" (*archiereus*), rather than "patriarch," and hence concluded that the text as preserved probably represented a version for some locale other than Constantinople.[47] The latter part of the text, which Dmitrievskii (followed by Mateos) overlooked, explicitly states that the patriarch (*patriarchēs*) is to read the lections.

Given that the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia* for September 1" is found only in the Venice and Oxford lectionaries among the seven members of our illuminated patriarchal subgroup, it might be proposed that, contrary to the conclusions of Dolezal and Masuda, only these two books were intended for patriarchal use. The question is what inference to draw from the differences between the books in the subgroup. Can a lectionary be "patriarchal" when it does not contain the "*Taxis*" text and has a menologion only some 95 percent identical to those in the lectionaries which do contain the "*Taxis*"?

The answer is unequivocal. When the menologion of the twin manuscripts without illustration, Paris Ms. gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23 (both of which contain the "*Taxis*"), is compared with that of the other set of twins, Venice and Oxford (which both contain the "*Taxis*" and illustration), the first pair are found to lack forty-two commemorations, i.e., they are only 95 percent the same. This is very significant. It means that even among lectionaries that contain instructions for the patriarch there is as much difference as there is between those manuscripts and the lectionaries that appear for other reasons to be patriarchal even though they do not contain the patriarchal rubric. Despite the interest and importance of the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia* for September 1," therefore, the absence of this text is insufficient evidence by which to demonstrate that a lectionary is not patriarchal. And even the presence of the text may not in every case indicate a patriarchal origin. The latter point is made by a select lectionary, Ms. Ottob. gr. 175, in the Vatican Library. It is a short book, from the eleventh century or later, comprising seventy folios measuring 9½ by 7 inches (24.1 × 17.8 cm). It contains only those lections noted in the second part of the "*Taxis*" as "the Gospel lections to be read by the patriarch": Easter Sunday, May 11, June 5, September 1, September 25, Easter Thursday at the washing of the feet, Good Friday, the

Fig. 23. Part of the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia* for September 1," listing lections and prayers to be read by the patriarch. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Gold and ink on parchment. Istituto Ellenico, Venice (Ms. IE 2, fol. 328r)

Gospel of the Passion, and the Catechesis of Good Friday. The manuscript, though discussed in a brief article by Yvonne Burns under the title "The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople,"[48] is a manuscript of modest size and ambition. It seems unlikely that the patriarch would have read the lections in question from this unimpressive—if readily portable—volume. It appears that we must seek out further evidence that points to the destination and use of our nonselect Gospel lectionaries.

Constantinopolitan and Patriarchal Indicators

Characteristic of the menologia of the Jaharis Lectionary and its relatives are explicit references to the Great Church (Hagia Sophia), to the stational (i.e., processional) liturgies of Constantinople (such as that of September 1, discussed above), and to other Constantinopolitan commemorations. As Dolezal showed, some of these are encountered widely in Byzantine lectionaries (e.g., the reference to the church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia on September 1 was found by Dolezal in twenty-seven of the ninety-two manuscripts she surveyed).[49] This is because all Byzantine lectionaries, as mentioned above, in effect follow the "use of Constantinople." But the sum of Constantinopolitan references in the patriarchal lectionaries is sufficiently unusual for the totality of their evidence to be significant.

The principal Constantinopolitan or Great Church references in the Jaharis Lectionary are in many cases narrative, and to a large extent overlap with the commemorations described in the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia* for September 1." They are as follows:

September 1 [folio 253r]
Beginning of the indiction and commemoration of our holy father Symeon the Stylite, and of the great fire [in Constantinople in 465]. The service of the all-holy Mother of God takes place in [her church in] Chalkoprateia in connection with [the icon of the Theotokos thrown by Iconoclasts into a lake at Gazouros and later recovered and deposited in the monastery of] Miasenoi, and also in the Forum, and in the liturgy of the Great Church is read the Gospel according to Luke: "At that time Jesus came to Nazareth where he had been brought up . . . [the lection continues on folio 253v] . . . and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth" [Lk 4:16–22]. In the [church in] Chalkoprateia is read the Gospel according to Luke: "Mary arose" [Lk 1:39], see the eighth of this month. [These lections were read by the patriarch, according to the "Taxis."*]*

September 14
On the Sunday after the Elevation [of the Holy Cross] and commemoration of Saint Symeon the kinsman of the Lord. On that Sunday is also celebrated in the Great Church the commemoration of the Sixth [Church] Council [680–81]. See the third Sunday in Lent.

September 21
[Celebration of the Constantinopolitan church of the] Theotokos in Petra.

September 25
[In] the processional liturgy of the Kampos during the Trisagion in the Tribunal is read the Gospel according to Luke: see Wednesday of the fifth week of Luke. In the liturgy in the church of the Theologos [presumably the church of Saint John in the Hebdomon][50] is read the Gospel: see Wednesday of the sixth week of Luke. [These lections were read by the patriarch, according to the "Taxis."*]*

October 12
The Great Church celebrates the commemoration of the Seventh [Church] Council [in 787] on Sunday, and the Gospel of the sower is read. . . .

[November 6]
On the Sunday before the sixth of the month of November, namely before the commemoration of Saint Paul [the patriarch] the homologete, there takes place in the Great Church on the Sunday according to the rite of the Great Church a reading from the gospel of the rich man: see the fifth Sunday of Luke; the same is read also on the sixth of the same month in a processional liturgy in memory of the rain of cinders [in the time of Emperor Leo the Great (r. 457–74)].

December 22
The opening of the Great Church.

December 23
The consecration of the Great Church.

May 11
On this day, the birthday of the city [of Constantinople], this [Gospel] is read in the Forum on the arrival of the liturgical procession. . . . [Jn 15:9–16]. In the Great Church on the return of the procession and in performing the liturgy is read the [Gospel] according to John [Jn 14:15 ff.]. [These lections were read by the patriarch, according to the "Taxis."*]*

Table 4
Notable Constantinopolitan References in Patriarchal Manuscripts

Date	*Commemoration*	Manuscript				
		Jaharis Lectionary	*Venice IE 2*	*Paris gr. 286*	*Paris. suppl. gr. 1096*	*Vat. gr. 1156*
		plus Morgan M. 639	*plus Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7*	*plus Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23*		
Sept. 1	Service in the church of the Theotokos Chalkoprateion and after in the Great Church	√	√	√	√	√
Sept. 13	Dedication of the church of Christ's Anastasis (Jerusalem)	√	√	√	√	√
(Sept. 14)	Sixth Church Council	√	√	√	√	?
Sept. 21	Theotokos in Petra	√	√	√	√	√
Sept. 25	*Litē* of the Kampos	√	√	√	√	O
Oct. 12	Seventh Church Council	√	√	√	√	O
Oct. 31	Dedication of the Oratory of the Theotokos in the Patriarchate	O	√	√	O	O
Nov. 4	Dedication of the Church of Theotokos Kyrou	O	√	√	√	√
Nov. 5	Dedication of the Church of Theodoros Sphorakiou	O	√	√	O	O
Nov. 6	Service in the Great Church, and rain of cinders	√	√	√	O	O
Dec. 1	Dedication of the Church of the Palace	O	√	√	O	O
Dec. 12	Defeat of the Persians	O	√	√	√	O
Dec. 14	Earthquake	O	√	√	√	O
Dec. 18	Dedication of the Church of the Theotokos Chalkoprateion	O	√	√	O	O
Dec. 22	Opening of the Great Church	√	√	√	√	√
Dec. 23	Dedication of the Great Church	√	√	√	√	√
Jan. 26	Earthquake	O	√	√	√	O
Mar. 17	Earthquake	O	√	√	√	O
May 1	Dedication of the Nea Basilike (New Imperial) Church (in 881)	O	√	√	√	O
May 11	Birthday of Constantinople	√	√	√	√	√
June 5	*Litē* of the Kampos; Defeat of barbarians	√	√	√	√	√
(July 15)	Fourth and Fifth Church Councils	√	√	√	?	?
Aug. 7	Defeat of Avars	√	√	√	lost	√

Aug. 16	Arrival of Mandylion	√	√	√	√	√
Aug. 31	Theotokos Chalkoprateion and Dedication	√	√	√	√	√
	Great Church rubric for various lections	√	√	?	?	√

Note: Information on Paris gr. 286 and Paris suppl. gr. 1096 derived from Masuda and Ebihara, "Synaxaria."

On the same day and Sunday is celebrated the union of the church in July [15].

June 5
Processional liturgy of the Kampos, on account of the attack of the barbarians [on Constantinople], and in the Tribunal is read the Gospel, see Thursday of the second week of Matthew. In the church of Saint Babylas this [Gospel] is read [Lk 11:1–13]. [These lections were read by the patriarch, according to the "Taxis."*]*

[July 15]
On the Sunday before the commemoration of the Fourth [Church] Council [in 451] the union of the church is celebrated. And if that Sunday falls between the sixth and the twelfth of the month . . . [followed by lengthy instructions] . . . for the Gospel see May 11, on the birthday of the city . . . according to the rite of the [Great] Church. . . .

August 7
On the defeat of the Avars in Blachernae [outside the walls of Constantinople in 626].

August 16
Deposition [in the Pharos chapel of the imperial palace of the relic] of the Holy Mandylion brought from Edessa [to Constantinople in 944], and on the defeat of the Saracens [outside the walls of Constantinople in 718].

August 31
Deposition of the holy girdle of the Theotokos [in her church in] Chalkoprateia.

And immediately following the end of the menologion, on folio 305r, is a lengthy title:

Gospel lections to be read at various commemorations and liturgies and vigils of the Great Church. At the consecration of a church, see December 22. Another, see June 29. In commemoration of a terrible earthquake, see Thursday of the second week of Matthew, another see Wednesday of the fourth week of Luke, another see Wednesday of the fourteenth week of Matthew. In commemoration of the attack by the heathen, see the Thursday of the eighth week of Luke. At a procession of thanksgiving for battle . . . At an intercessionary procession . . . Another for the same and for drought . . . Another for drought . . . One for a vigil . . . For the investiture of a monk . . ., another . . . For the investiture of a woman . . . For the sick and for oil of unction according to the seven priests . . . Another for the sick . . ., another . . . For sick women . . . For thanksgiving of men and women . . . For the dead . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another. Another for the dead and for those giving thanks. Gospel lection for one or many apostles . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . . For prophets . . ., another . . ., another . . . For hierarchs and hieromartyrs . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . . For martyrs . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . . For saints . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . . For female saints, holy persons and martyrs . . ., another . . ., another . . . For angels, another . . ., another . . ., another . . ., another . . .

It is notable, therefore, that although the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary lacks the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia* for September 1," it contains rubrics for carrying out certain commemorations, and specifically it includes them on the days when it was the patriarch himself who (according to the "*Taxis*") read the Gospel (i.e., September 1, September 25, May 11, June 5). This correspondence between the menologion of the Jaharis Lectionary and the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia*" cannot be a coincidence.

If to the Constantinopolitan references found in the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary we now add references of the same sort found in other manuscripts of the illuminated patriarchal group (plus the unillustrated Paris gr. 286) and tabulate the evidence (table 4), we get a striking pattern of consistency. The continuing close relationship of Jaharis to Morgan is apparent. The principal difference between that pair and the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia*" manuscripts (Venice IE 2, Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7, Paris gr. 286 [and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23]) is that the latter include additional commemorations of earthquakes, and of the dedication of certain Constantinopolitan churches. The Jaharis Lection-

TABLE 5
COMMEMORATIONS OF PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN PATRIARCHAL MANUSCRIPTS

Date	*Commemorated patriarch, reign dates*	MANUSCRIPT				
		Jaharis Lectionary	*Venice IE 2*	*Paris gr. 286*	*Vat. gr. 1156*	*Paris suppl. gr. 1096*
		plus Morgan M. 639	*plus Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7*	*plus Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23*		
Sept. 2	John IV Nesteutes, 582–595	√	√	√	√	√
Sept. 2	Paul III, 688–94	√	√	√	√	√
Oct. 11	Nektarios, 381–97	√	√	√	√	√
Oct. 11	Arsakios, 404–5	√	√	√	√	√
Oct. 11	Attikos, 406–25	√	√	√	√	√
Oct. 11	Sisinnios I, 426–27	√	√	√	√	√
Oct. 23	Ignatios, 847–78	√	√	√	√	√
Oct. 30	Kyriakos, 595–606	O	√	√	√	√
Nov. 6	Paul I, 340–50	√	√	√	√	√
Nov. 13	John Chrysostom, 398–404	√	√	√	√	√
Nov. 20	Proklos, 434–46	√	√	√	√	√
Nov. 20	Maximian, 431–34	√	√	√	√	√
Nov. 20	Anatolios, 449–58	√	√	√	√	√
Nov. 20	Gennadios I, 458–71	√	√	√	√	√
Dec. 16	Nikolas II Chrysoberges, 984–95	O	√	√	√	√
Jan. 25	Gregory the Theologian, 379–81	√	√	√	√	√
Jan. 27	John Chrysostom, 398–404	√	√	√	√	√
Feb. 5	Polyeuktos, 956–970	√	√	√	√	√
Feb. 6	Photios, 858–86	O	√	√	√	√
Feb. 12	Antony II Kauleas, 893–901	√	√	√	√	√
Feb. 18	Flavian, 447–49	√	√	√	√	√
Feb. 22	Thomas II, 667–69	√	√	√	√	√
Feb. 25	Tarasios, 784–806	√	√	√	√	√
Mar. 13	Nikephoros I, 806–15	√	√	√	√	√
Mar. 22	Thomas I, 607–10	√	√	√	√	√
Apr. 6	Eutychios, 552–65	√	√	√	√	√
Apr. 12	Sergios II, 1001–19	√	√	√	√	√
May 12	Germanos I, 715–30	√	√	√	√	√
May 15	Nikolas I Mystikos, 901–25	√	√	√	√	√
May 27	Stephen I, 886–93	O	√	O	O	√
May 31	Eustathios, 1019–25	√	√	√	√	√

June 2	Nikephoros I, 806–15	√	√	√	√	√
June 4	Metrophanes, 315–27	√	√	√	√	√
June 14	Methodios, 843–47	√	√	√	√	√
July 18	Stephen II, 925–28	O	√	√	√	lost
Aug. 5	Euthymios, 907–12	O	√	O	√	lost
Aug. 25	Epiphanios, 520–35	√	√	√	O	√
Aug. 25	Menas, 536–52	√	√	√	√	√
Aug. 25	John II Kappadokes, 518–20	√	√	√	√	√
Aug. 30	Alexandros, 327–40	√	√	√	√	√
Aug. 30	John III Scholastikos, 565–77	√	√	√	√	√
Aug. 30	Paul IV, 780–84	√	√	√	√	√

Note: Information on Paris gr. 286 and Paris suppl. gr. 1096 derived from Masuda and Ebihara, "Synaxaria."

ary, like Morgan M. 639, has commemorations only of the dedication (*egkainia*) of the Anastasis church in Jerusalem (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), and of Hagia Sophia (including the opening of the church on the previous day, December 22)[51] and the church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia in Constantinople. To these are added in the Venice and Oxford manuscripts (and in Paris gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23) the dedications of an oratory in the patriarchate which contained the relic of the head of Saint Aberkios; the Nea Ekklesia (New Church), in the imperial palace;[52] the somewhat mysteriously termed "church of the palace" (*naos tou palatiou*), presumably the church of Saint Tryphon, described elsewhere as near the church of Saint Irene; and the church of the Theotokos Kyrou. It is relevant to note that the clergy of Hagia Sophia also served (as well as in Saint Irene) in the churches of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia and of Saint Theodore Sphorakiou, as well as the oratory of the Theotokos in the patriarchate. That this oratory contained the relic of the head of Saint Aberkios, to whom another church in the patriarchate was dedicated, will be significant below. These additional Constantinopolitan commemorations, beyond those in the Jaharis Lectionary, strengthen the connection of those books with the city. But it is notable that none of the additions are formulated with the sort of liturgical information supplied for the "*Taxis*"-related events.

In considering the role of the patriarchate in commissioning or using the group of manuscripts under discussion, it makes sense to consider commemorations of patriarchs of Constantinople to see if any particular pattern emerges (table 5).[53] Patriarchs are indeed remarkably numerous among the commemorations in the Jaharis Lectionary and its relatives, and they link our manuscripts closely together. (Two patriarchs appear twice: John Chrysostom and Nikephoros.) As before, the Venice and Oxford manuscripts display a slightly fuller text (forty patriarchs) than the pair of Jaharis and Morgan (thirty-four patriarchs). The six additional patriarchs included in Venice IE 2 and Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7 are, in chronological order, Kyriakos (r. 595–606), Photios (r. 858–86), Stephen I (r. 886–93), Euthymios (r. 907–12), Stephen II (r. 925–28), and Nicholas II Chrysoberges (r. 984–95). Commemorations of four of these six patriarchs, along with the core group of thirty-four, are also found in Vat. gr. 1156. It is also worth noting that the unillustrated manuscripts that contain the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia*" (Paris gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23) do not have the "full" total of forty patriarchs; they lack two of the six added in Venice and Oxford: Stephen I and Euthymios. The principal characteristic of the list of patriarchs is its inclusivity: it extends from the early period through Iconoclasm to the eleventh century. I do not think it has a more specific character.

The most important feasts in the church year were marked in various ways in Gospel lectionaries like the Jaharis manuscript, in particular by the provision of additional services before and after the day in question. For example, the feast of the Elevation of the Cross, September 14, was preceded by four days of adoration (*proskynēsis*) of the Cross. This is characteristic of the Great Church, according to the Typikon.[54] The Nativity, December 25, was preceded by a vigil (*paramonē*) and followed for a week by post-feast commemorations (*metheorta*). The Theophany

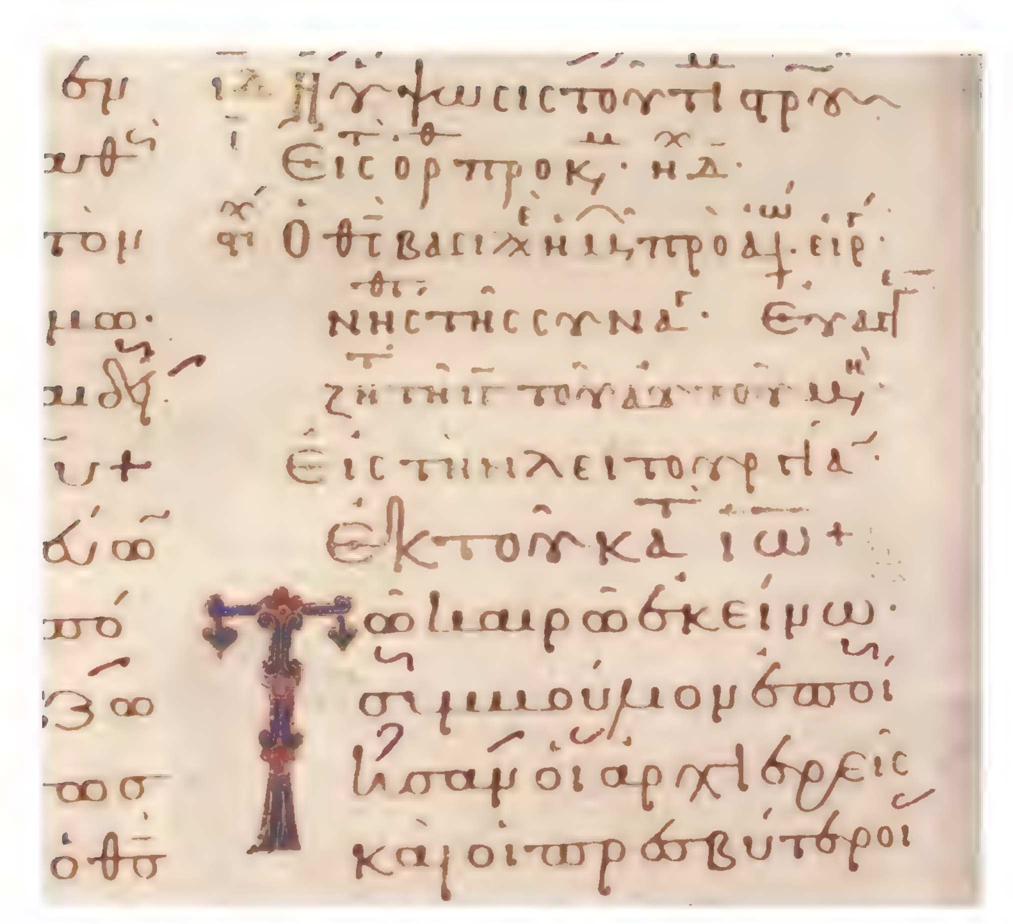


Fig. 24. Menologion, September 14, special instructions for the commemoration of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 257v (detail)

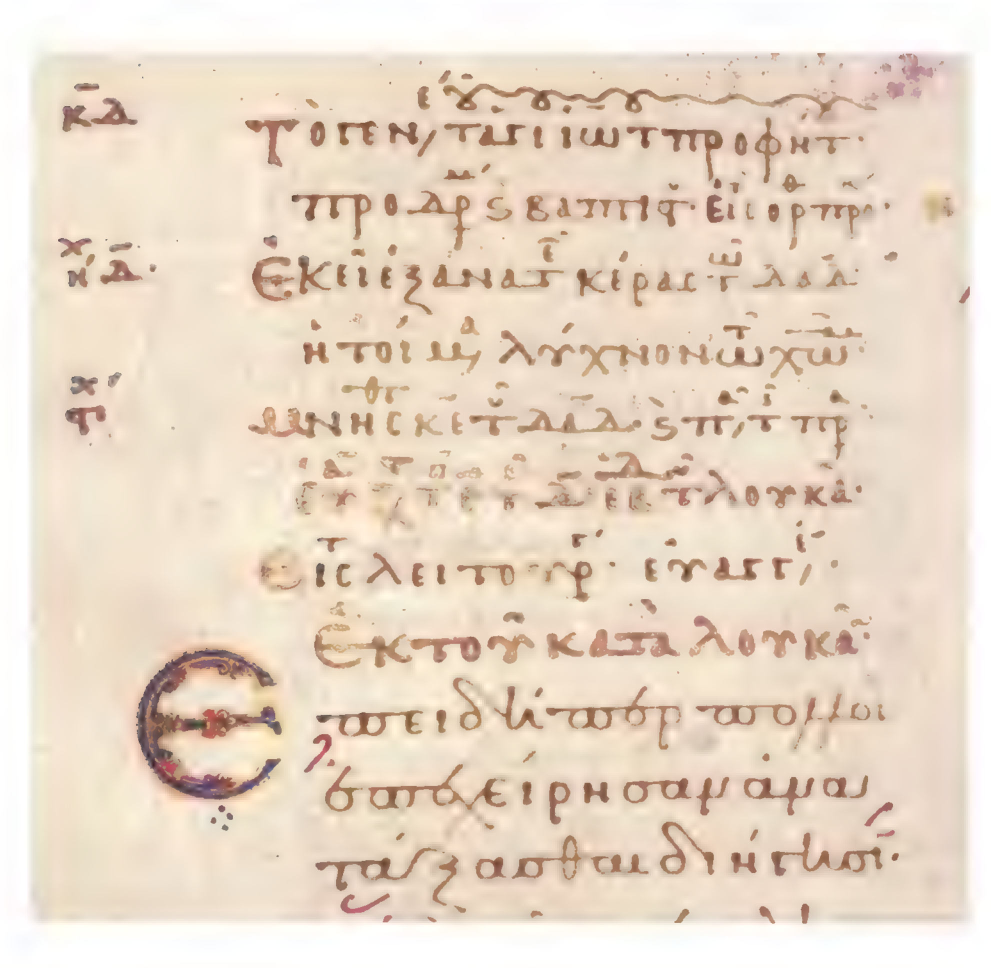


Fig. 25. Menologion, June 24, special instructions for the commemoration of the Birth of Saint John the Baptist. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 293v (detail)

TABLE 6
SPECIAL COMMEMORATIONS: INSTRUCTIONS FOR ORTHROS, PROKEIMENON, STOICHOS, LITURGY

Date	Commemoration	MANUSCRIPT					
		Jaharis Lectionary	*Venice IE 2*	*Paris gr. 286*	*Paris suppl. gr. 1096*	*Vat. gr. 1156*	*Dionysiou 587*
		plus Morgan M. 639	*plus Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7*	*plus Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23 (orthros and liturgy only)*			
Sept. 8	Birth of the Theotokos	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
Sept. 14	Elevation of the Cross	√	√	(√)	√	√	O
Oct. 22	Saint Aberkios	√	√	(√)	O	O	O
Nov. 8	Archangels	√	√	(√)	√	√	O
Nov. 13	Saint John Chrysostom	√	√	(√)	√	√	O
Nov. 21	Holy of Holies	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
Dec. 25	Nativity of Christ	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
Jan. 6	Theophany	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
Jan. 25	Saint Gregory the Theologian (orthros and liturgy only)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	O
Feb. 2	Purification of Christ	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
Feb. 24	Discovery of the head of John the Baptist (orthros and liturgy only)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	O
Mar. 25	Annunciation	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
June 24	Birth of John the Baptist	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
June 29	Saints Peter and Paul	√	√	(√)	√	√	√
Aug. 6	Metamorphosis of Christ	√	√	(√)	lost	√	√
Aug. 15	Death of the Theotokos	√	√	(√)	lost	√	O
Aug. 29	Beheading of John the Baptist	√	√	(√)	√	√	O

Note: Information on Paris gr. 286 and Paris suppl. gr. 1096 was kindly supplied by Tomoyuki Masuda.

(in the Eastern church, the Baptism of Christ), January 6, was preceded by four pre-feast days (*proeortia*) and a vigil, and followed by a week of post-feast days. The Transfiguration, August 6, was followed by a post-feast day. That only four feasts in the entire year were marked in this way (Easter was a special case) suggests we should also be looking elsewhere for commemorations picked out for special attention, for although there was no generally agreed number of major feasts in churches following the Byzantine Rite, we should expect to find significantly more than four (or five, including Easter). As it happens, the Jaharis Lectionary does have extra liturgical information and additional lections for certain commemorations in the menologion, indicating that these feasts have a higher status. Extra information is provided for the service of orthros on these days, and includes a *prokeimenon* (a responsory) and *stoichos* (a psalm verse), as well as the text or cross-reference to the Gospels for orthros and for the liturgy of the commemoration in question.

An example from September 14 will show the way these extras work. On that day, instead of the normal straightforward reference to a single lection, we read (fig. 24): "The Elevation of the Holy Cross, at matins, responsory in the fourth tone; psalm verse [a scribal error]: 'God is our king of old, working salvation' [Ps. 73(74):12].[55] [Psalm verse] 'Remember thy congregation' [Ps. 73(74):2].[56]

Gospel, see the thirteenth of the same month. In the liturgy . . . [the text continues with a reading from Saint John's Gospel]."

A second example confirms the pattern. In this case the scribe did not make a mistake, so it is easier to understand. On June 24 (fig. 25) we read: "The birth of Saint John, the prophet, forerunner, and Baptist, at matins responsory in the fourth tone 'There will I cause to spring up a horn to David; I have prepared a lamp for my anointed' [Ps. 131(132):17].[57] Psalm verse 'Lord remember David and all his meekness' [Ps. 131(132):1].[58] Gospel, see Thursday of the fourth week of Luke. In the liturgy the Gospel according to Luke."

The occurrences of these liturgical extras in the Jaharis Lectionary and its closest relatives are compared in table 6. (The *prokeimenon* and *stoichos* texts of the Jaharis manuscript are listed in appendix 4. It should be noted that they often differ from those listed in Mateos's Typikon of the Great Church.) The identity of the evidence from Jaharis, Morgan, Venice, and Oxford is striking. It is one of the strongest indicators of the close relationship between the manuscripts of the patriarchal subgroup. Two of the seventeen feasts in the Jaharis Lectionary—Gregory the Theologian (January 25) and the Discovery of the Head of John the Baptist (February 24)—have the information for orthros and the liturgy, but lack the *prokeimenon* and *stoichos* verses. It is not clear why this should be so, but it is notable that Morgan M. 639, Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7, and Venice IE 2 all share this unusual feature with the Jaharis manuscript. The evidence of Dionysiou 587, added to this table, is also interesting. The menologion of Dionysiou 587 is selective, and only thirty-two days have commemorations (the other manuscripts have every day of the year). Among these thirty-two selected commemorations are fifteen of the seventeen "special" feasts in the Jaharis Lectionary (October 22 and February 24 are lacking), and of those fifteen, nine also have the extra liturgical information for orthros, *prokeimenon*, *stoichos*, and liturgy. Finally, it is intriguing to observe that the unillustrated pair of manuscripts that contain the "*Taxis* and *Akolouthia* for September 1," Paris gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23, have the orthros and liturgy lections for the identical commemorations as Jaharis and Morgan M. 639, and Venice IE 2 and Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7, but they both lack any mention of the *prokeimenon* and *stoichos* for any of the days.

Without question, the most surprising commemoration to include these instructions for a higher-status celebration is that of Saint Aberkios, bishop of Hierapolis, on October 22. He is the usual saint for that day, but why does he have special status in all these books (except Vat. gr. 1156 and Dionysiou 587)? The answer, I suggest, is because the patriarchate contained a chapel dedicated to Saint Aberkios. It is also notable that on October 31 the Venice manuscript and Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7 (and Paris gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23), in addition to commemorating the dedication of the "chapel of the Theotokos in the patriarchate" (see table 6), celebrate the "precious head of saint Aberkios."[59] Aberkios is prominent in all these manuscripts because they are all associated with the patriarchate.

Uncorrected Mistakes in the Menologion of the Jaharis Lectionary

A few days in the Jaharis Lectionary appear to lack commemorations—the result, it would seem, of some scribal oversight. Given the formulaic nature of the menologion

TABLE 7
COMMEMORATIONS ON OCTOBER 14–15

	MANUSCRIPT		
	Jaharis Lectionary	*Morgan M. 639*	*Venice IE 2*
Oct. 13	Karpos and Papylos	√	√
Oct. 14		Nazarios Gerbasios Protasios and Kelsios	Nazarios Gerbasios Protasios and Kelsios
Oct. 15	Nazarios Gerbasios Protasios and Kelsios [misplaces Oct. 14, lacks saints for Oct. 15]	Loukianos	Loukianos, Sarbelos, and Babia
Oct. 16	Longinos the Centurion, Malos	√	√

Table 8
Commemorations on July 13–15

	MANUSCRIPT		
	Jaharis Lectionary	*Morgan M. 639*	*Venice IE 2*
July 12	Proklos, Hilarios, Golindouch	√	√
July 13	Sarapion, Stephanos, Veronika, Myrope, Aquila, Joseph of Thessaloniki, Ioustos [combines July 13 and 14]	Sarapion, Stephanos, Veronika, Myrope	Sarapion, Stephanos, Veronika, Myrope
July 14	Kyros [sic] and Ioulitta [misplaces July 15]	Aquila, Joseph of Thessaloniki, Ioustos	Aquila, Joseph of Thessaloniki
July 15		Kyriakos and Ioulitta	Kyriakos and Ioulitta

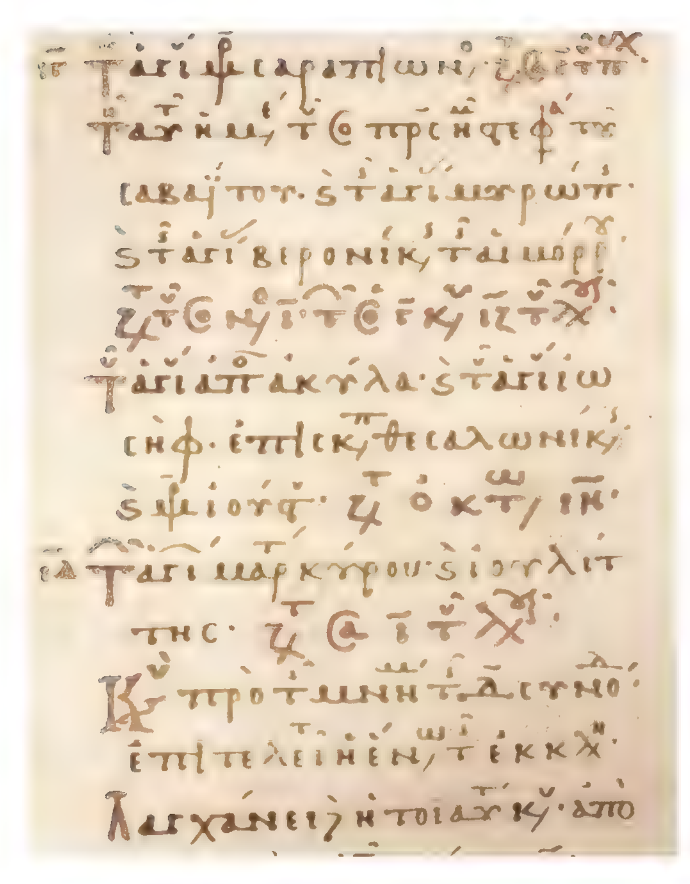


Fig. 26. Menologion, error in order of saints for July 13–15. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 298r (detail)

entries, and the insertion of the gold numbers as a separate operation, it will be appreciated that it was relatively easy to commit a copying error. There are three such instances. In the first, October 14 was overlooked, the saints for October 14 were numbered as October 15, and those for October 15 were omitted (table 7). The second example is comparable. The saints for July 14 were added to those for July 13, and those for July 15 were numbered as July 14, leaving July 15 seemingly uncommemorated (table 8; fig. 26). Signs of a more serious confusion can be found in April, where April 20 and 21 are missing, and the commemorations for April 14 through April 19 are jumbled (table 9). In these instances, comparison is made only between the Jaharis Lectionary, its textual twin Morgan M. 639, and an additional illuminated patriarchal manuscript, Venice IE 2.

A broader survey suggests that these three passages of errors are unique to the Jaharis Lectionary. The implication is that no surviving book is a copy of the Jaharis manuscript. But it remains a possibility that the textual errors could have been introduced in copying Jaharis from some surviving volume (which did not have these errors). That the errors were never corrected, or even indicated, is important. It is a sign that the book, or at least those parts of the book affected by the textual disorders, may not have been used. This is why most of it is in such good condition. Comparable oversights can be found in other manuscripts: the scribe of Venice IE 2, for instance, omitted August 11. This mistake, too, was never corrected. Curiously, there are signs of use in the menologion of Venice IE 2 in the early months (drops of candle wax, for example, and signs of rubbing on September 2), but these are much less conspicuous in the later months (such as August).

Turning the pages of the Jaharis Lectionary, one finds a few drops of candle wax here and there (see folio 14r [fig. 27]), but with the exception of the opening of the Easter lection, on folio 3r (figs. 2, 56), there are only two places where the book shows distinctive signs of use. The first of these is on folio 35r (fig. 28), the opening of the reading for the liturgy on Ascension Day (a movable feast

Table 9
Commemorations on April 13–21

	Manuscript		
	Jaharis Lectionary	*Morgan M. 639*	*Venice IE 2*
Apr. 12	Basil of Pareios, Gerontios, Sergios	√	√
Apr. 13	Kriskes and Theodosios, Pausilypos, Iakobos, Symeon of Antioch [combines April 13 and 14, omits Aristarchos Poudes Trophimos]	Kriskes and Theodosios	Kriskes and Theodosios, Martinos of Rome
Apr. 14	Sabas the Goth, Leonides Nikodemos [misplaces April 15]	Aristarchos Poudes and Trophimos, Pausilypos, Iakobos, Symeon of Antioch	Aristarchos Poudes and Trophimos, Pausilypos, Iakobos, Symeon of Antioch
Apr. 15	Kosmas of Chalkedon, Agapios of Rome [omits April 16, misplaces April 17]	Sabas the Goth, Leonides Nikodemos	Sabas the Goth, Leonides Nikodemos
Apr. 16	Ioannes Palaiolauritos, Iakobos and Azas [misplaces April 18]	Akakios of Melitene	Akakios of Melitene
Apr. 17	Theodoros of Perga, Longinos and Aphrodisios [misplaces April 19]	Kosmas of Chalkedon, Agapios of Rome	Kosmas of Chalkedon, Agapios of Rome
Apr. 18	Paphnoutios [misplaces April 20]	Ioannes Palaiolauritos, Iakobos, and Azas	Ioannes Palaiolauritos, Iakobos, and Azas
Apr. 19	Theodore Trichinas, Iannouarios [misplaces April 21]	Theodoros of Perga, Longinos, and Aphrodisios	Theodoros of Perga, Longinos, and Aphrodisios
Apr. 20		Paphnoutios	Paphnoutios
Apr. 21		Theodore Trichinas, Iannouarios	Theodore Trichinas, Iannouarios
Apr. 22	Theodoros of Theodosioupolis	√	√

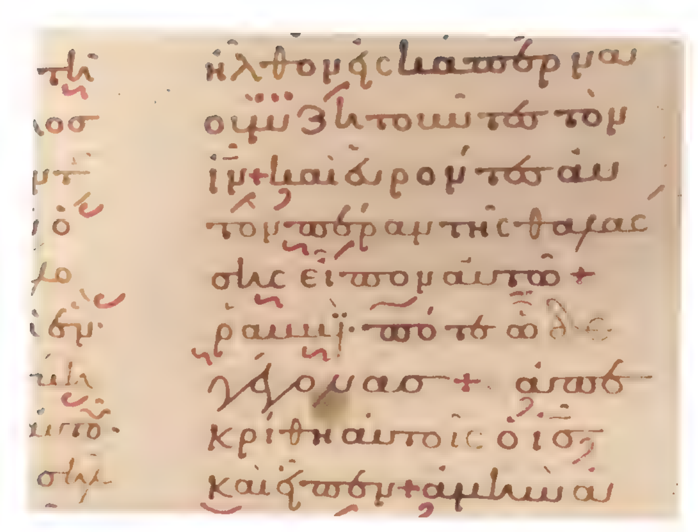


Fig. 27. Drop of candle wax. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 14r (detail)

celebrated on a Thursday, forty days after Easter). The text is faded and the initial rubbed, as though the page had been read by someone following the words with his finger. Some of the letters have become so faint that they have had to be re-inked to aid legibility. The second example is on folio 231r (fig. 29), the second reading of the twelve for the Passion (Jn 18:1–28). It seems to be only the first page of this lection that is worn, and the reason for this is a mystery.

There can be no question that the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary was made for use in the same context as its closest textual relatives: either in Hagia Sophia itself, by the patriarch or a member of his clergy, and/or in one of the surrounding churches or chapels that followed the liturgy of Hagia Sophia and that were served by the same clergy. It is possible that further textual research may clarify the use of all these patriarchal manuscripts.

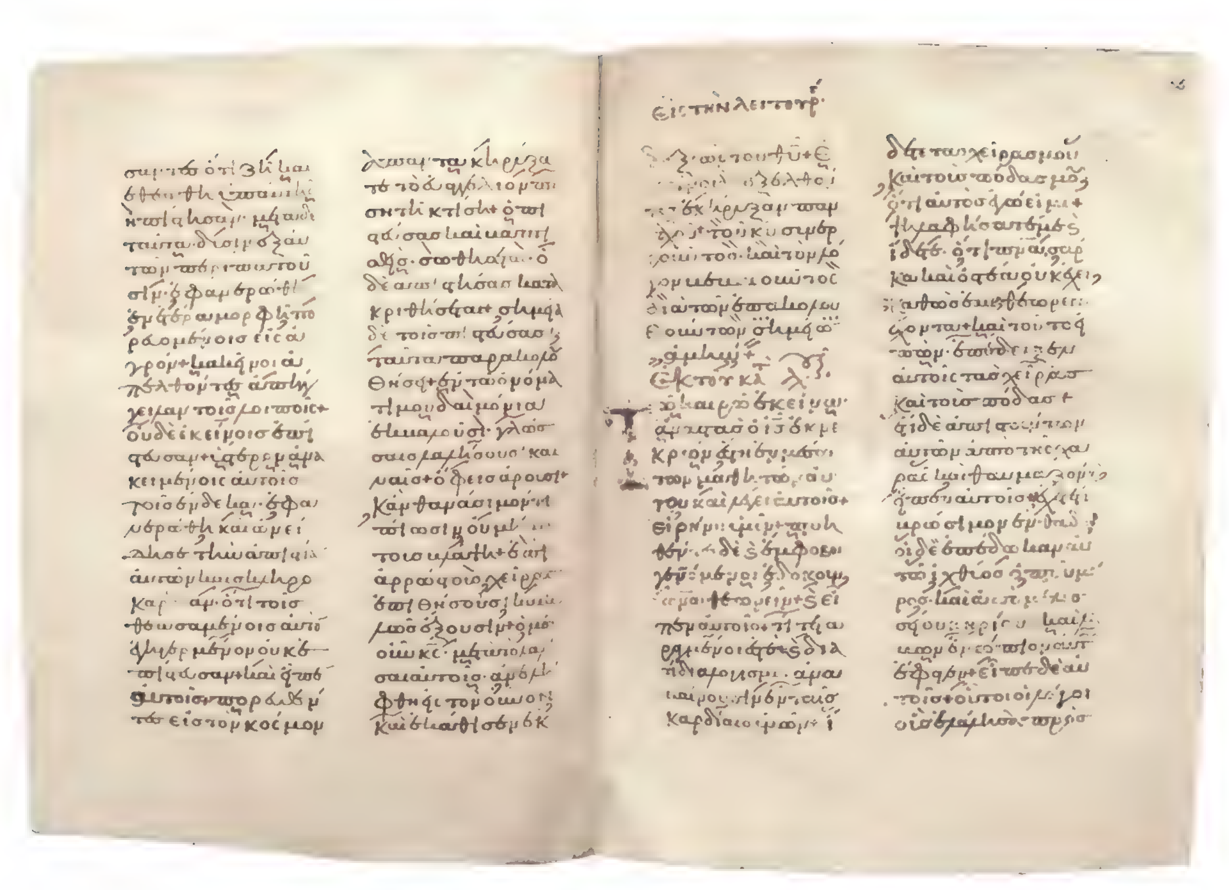


Fig. 28. Opening page of lection for liturgy of Ascension Day showing signs of wear. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 34v–35r



Fig. 29. Opening page of the 2nd Passion lection showing signs of wear. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 230v–231r



·ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ·

Εἶπεν ὁ κς· ὁρᾶ
τε μὴ καταφρο
νήσητε ἑνὸς
τῶν μικρῶν τού
των· λέγω γὰρ ὑ

μῖν· ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι
αὐτῶν ἐν οὐνοῖς
διὰ παντὸς βλέ
πουσι τὸ πρόσω
πον τοῦ πρς μου

EXPLORING MANUFACTURE

Materials and Craftsmanship

In turning to the making of the Jaharis Lectionary it will prove helpful to reverse the pattern of analysis adopted thus far, and to treat the subject in a strictly chronological fashion, in an attempt to reconstruct the order of work that brought the book into being. We will continue to bring forward evidence from contemporary manuscripts for comparative purposes. These manuscripts include a core group of patriarchal Gospel lectionaries, introduced in the preceding chapter. The lectionaries are important comparanda not only for the selection of commemorations in the Jaharis menologion (discussed in "Reconstructing Use") but also for the images in the manuscript.

PARCHMENT AND GATHERINGS

Once the decision had been taken to make the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, the first stage in the making of the book was to acquire an adequate supply of sheets of parchment—specially prepared animal skin. In Constantinople about 1100 the necessary parchment would in all likelihood have been available ready-prepared, given the large demand of the city, with its complex bureaucracy, as well as the requirements of numerous monasteries, churches, schools, private scholars, and so forth. The animal source of the material of the Jaharis Lectionary has not been established. The parchment is yellowish, thick, and stiff. Each sheet now measures about 14⅛ by 21¼ inches (36 × 54 cm). When folded vertically these sheets (each forming a bifolio) provided the 308 leaves we see today, at a page size of about 14 by 10½ inches (35.5 × 26.8 cm). If the source of the parchment were sheep or goat, an entire skin would have been required for every one of these sheets, making a total of some 154 animal skins. We have few statistics for the cost and supply of parchment in Byzantium, but we know that it was expensive, and we can say with certainty that the larger the size of the book the higher the cost.[1] By Byzantine standards, the Jaharis Lectionary is of large format. The illuminated patriarchal Gospel lectionaries closely related to it are of notably similar dimensions (table 10).

Once the scribe had acquired enough parchment to begin work (confident that any material not yet in hand would become available), the bifolios would have been folded vertically on the center line and piled up in multiples of four. Each unit of four bifolios provided eight folios, or sixteen pages, and was termed a *tetradion* (in English, a quaternion or quire). Because it was very difficult for the parchmenter to prepare the two sides of the animal skin to an identical finish, the bifolios were laid out in an alternating pattern: the first sheet with the hair side up, the second with the flesh side up, then hair side up again, and finally flesh side uppermost. As a result, when the sheets were folded a flesh side always faced a flesh side, and a hair side always faced a hair side, avoiding excessive disparity in appearance between the surfaces of facing pages. This procedure of "hair-to-hair and flesh-to-flesh" is now known as Gregory's Law, after the biblical scholar Caspar René Gregory, who first described the phenomenon. (For Gregory and his examination in 1885 of the Jaharis Lectionary, see the chapter "Retracing History.")

PRICKING, RULING, AND ORDERING THE LEAVES

Before the folded sheets of parchment could be written on, it was necessary to draw a pattern of ruled lines to maintain the vertical and horizontal spacing of the text. First, the page was pricked at carefully measured intervals with the point of a knife blade of narrow triangular form. A straight edge was then used to join the prickings, and the lines were ruled on the hair side of the parchment with a round-tipped metal stylus. The mark left by the stylus was colorless (or "blind") but visible on the surface as a furrow (fig. 31). This standard procedure had the great advantage that the same ruled lines were also apparent, as ridges, on the reverse side of the sheet. This halved the number of

Opposite: Fig. 30. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 43r

Table 10

Dimensions of Pages in Jaharis Gospel Lectionary and Some Related Manuscripts

Manuscript	*Folio*	*Lines*	*Text Block*
Jaharis Lectionary	13⅞ × 10½ in. (35.5 × 26.8 cm)	24	9½ × 7¼ × 3 in. (24 × 18.4 × 7.8 cm)
Morgan M. 639	13 × 9⅞ in. (33 × 25 cm)	22	8¼ × 6 × 2½ in. (20.8 × 15.5 × 6.5 cm)
Venice IE 2	12⅝ × 9⅝ in. (32 × 24.6 cm)	21	8⅞ × 6⅝ × 3 in. (22.6 × 16.8 × 7.8 cm)
Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7	12¼ × 9¼ in. (31 × 23.5 cm)	22	8⅛ × 6¼ × 2⅝ in. (20.6 × 15.8 × 6.9 cm)
Vat. gr. 1156	13¾ × 10⅜ in. (35 × 26.5 cm)	20	ca. 8⅝ × 6¾ × 2⅞ in. (ca. 22 × 17 × 7.4 cm) [estimated dimensions]
Dionysiou 587	15⅝ × 11¾ in. (39.8 × 29.8 cm)	17	10⅞ × 7 × 3 in. (27.6 × 18 × 7.5 cm)

rulings that it was necessary to execute. In some books it was possible, with heavy pressure on the stylus, to rule the parchment of an entire quire in one operation—a major saving of time—but the Jaharis Lectionary's parchment is too thick for this procedure to have been feasible.

Modern scholarly analysis of ruling patterns, it was once hoped, would help to localize manuscripts, or even to attribute them to specific craftsmen or centers of production, so great effort was expended to collect the evidence from a large number of examples.[2] The Jaharis Lectionary scheme can be identified as Sautel/Leroy type 24C2n (in the arcane language of the system).[3] But at present this information is of little help in answering any broad question, for the pattern is one that was widely used in Byzantine books. The Jaharis pages feature doubled horizontals in the upper and lower margins, and doubled verticals at the outer margin of the written block. They are ruled for twenty-four lines of text in two columns, and the

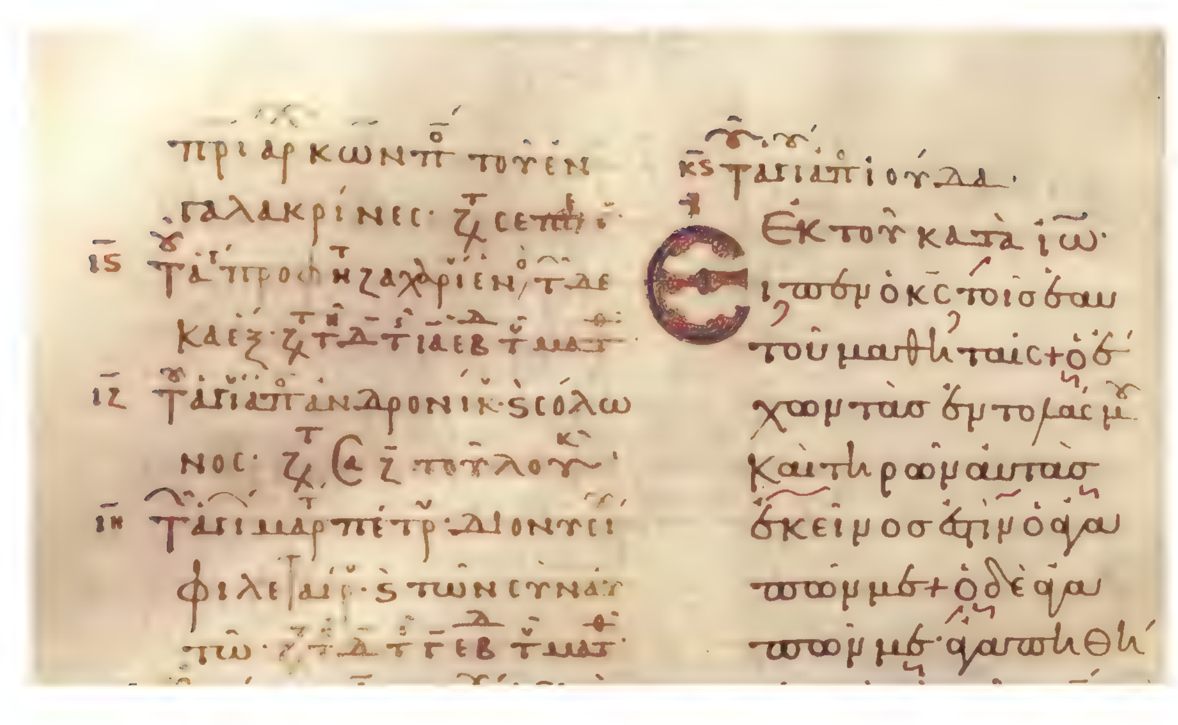


Fig. 31. Detail of furrows of pattern ruled with a stylus to guide text. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 290v

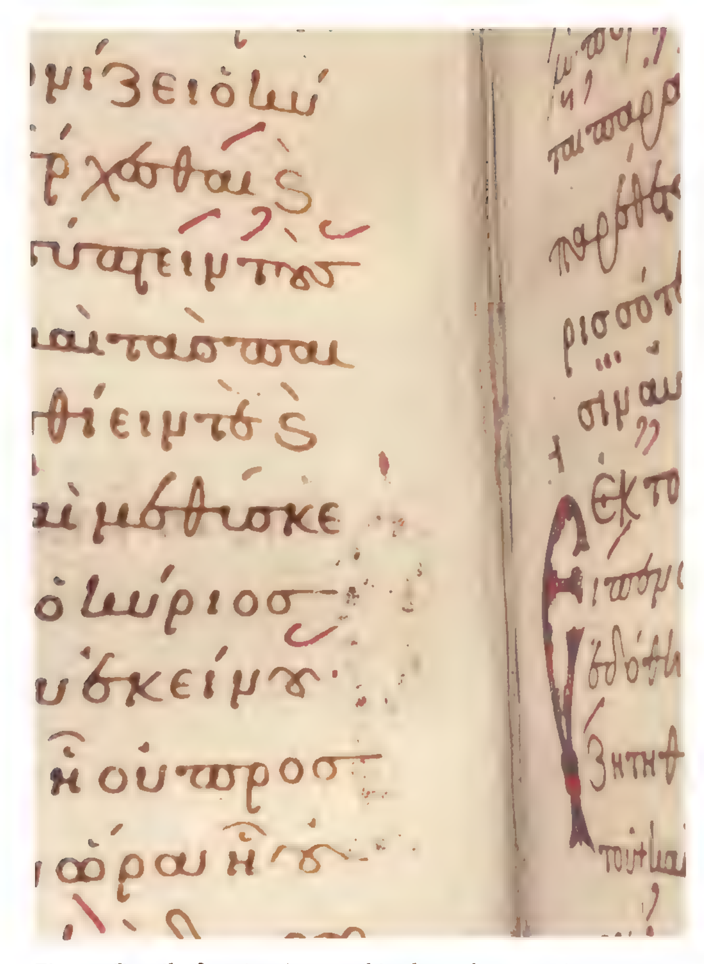


Fig. 32. Detail of sewing (renewed in the 19th century) at center of quire. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 136v–137r

dimensions of the text block are 9½ by 7¼ by 3 inches (24 × 18.4 × 7.8 cm). This means the blank margins are very broad—a symptom of conspicuous consumption. In the number of ruled lines and the size of its text block, the Jaharis manuscript is, again, closely similar to the group of related patriarchal Gospel lectionaries (table 10).

Once the quires had been assembled and ruled, a light temporary stitching was probably used to ensure the folios in each quire were kept in the correct order (the final sewing of the Jaharis Lectionary can be seen, for example, between folios 136v and 137r [fig. 32]). It is important to note that scribes and artists worked not on blank pages in a bound book but on loosely gathered bundles of leaves, which could easily be separated. As a result, different craftsmen could (if required) work concurrently on different parts of what would become a single book, thus accelerating production. We shall return to this point in considering the decoration below.

It was probably as work progressed that the scribe numbered each quire in sequence, to ensure there was no confusion. The only numbering system to be seen today in the Jaharis Lectionary is in faded brown ink in the lower inner margin of the first rectos and in the outer margin of the last versos. This is not the original numbering: Gregory correctly identified the script as Hebrew, rather than Greek, which is not the norm for a Byzantine book and could only have been added by a later owner or user.[4] In the patriarchal Gospel lectionary Venice IE 2, which has traces of the original numbering system in Greek, there is also a later quire numbering in Arabic script, using letters rather than numerals, which is, again, an unexpected feature.

As he worked through the book the scribe made special adjustments so as to allow the major textual divisions to correspond to the physical divisions between the quires. For example, folio 109 of the Jaharis Lectionary, the start of the Lukan lections, is the start of a new quire, which is preceded by a quire of only three bifolios (fols. 103–108). Folio 191, the start of the Markan lections, again begins a quire, and it is preceded by a quire of only one bifolio (fols. 189–190). Folio 253, the incipit (opening) of the menologion, begins a quire and is preceded by a quire of three bifolios. And the original leaves of the book end with a bifolio (fols. 309–312). The one uncertain area is before folio 43, the start of the Matthean lections. This is the start of a new quire, but it seems to be preceded by two irregular quires (fols. 27–42). However, it is not possible to be sure about what is going on here as the book is too tightly sewn for the arrangement of the folios to be visible. All in all, no original leaves appear to be missing, which testifies to the care with which the book has been preserved.

As a result of the adjustment of the number of folios in the quires, it would theoretically have been possible for five different scribes to have been at work on the Jaharis Lectionary simultaneously: one each for the bundles of quires beginning with the Johannine, Matthean, Lukan, Markan, and menologion lections. Alternatively, we can allow the possibility that these sections could (in theory) have been distributed to different craftsmen, each of whom specialized in a different aspect of the production process: the menologion section could have been being ruled while the Markan section (already ruled) was being written, while the Lukan section (already written) was receiving the gilded titles, while the Matthean section (already supplied with gold script) was being decorated with the headpiece, while the Johannine section (already decorated) was receiving the evangelist portrait. Clearly, any system that enabled concurrent work on different parts of the book

would have saved time in what was a lengthy and complex task. But it is also possible that one craftsman might execute all aspects of the book's production. In the absence of any explicit statement as to how the Jaharis Lectionary, or any other Byzantine book, was made, we can say that it appears to be the work of a single scribe.

NORMAL SCRIPT

The Jaharis manuscript was very carefully produced, and the craftsmanship is of high quality throughout. Every lection has an enlarged foliate initial (generally ⅓ to 1½ inches [2–4 cm] tall, depending on the form of the letter), either of gold alone or of gold and color. All the titles and incipits are in gold. The main script is a fine example of the exceptionally regular *Perlschrift* (pearl script—a modern term), characteristic of high-quality lectionaries in the decades before and after 1100.[5] The script is distinguished by regularity and fluency, emphasized by the linking together of letters and the presence of more complex ligatures. There are also occasional enlarged letter forms (e.g., zeta, theta, xi, upsilon, phi), and some of the enlarged letters have a dot in the center (e.g., epsilon on fol. 3r [fig. 2], theta on fol. 49r [fig. 18]).

It is necessary to pay particular attention to the script, because the *Perlschrift* of about 1100 was carefully imitated by scribes in the Palaiologan period (1261–1453), in the style now known as "archaizing minuscule."[6] In paleographical terms, therefore, the Jaharis Lectionary could conceivably have been written either about 1100 or about 1300. The script of the Jaharis manuscript is closely comparable, however, to that of a book, dated 1101, now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. suppl. gr. 1262),[7] as well as to the script of the most important (undated) illuminated Gospel lectionaries of the period around 1100, notably Vat. gr. 1156, Dionysiou Ms. 587, Morgan M. 639, and Venice IE 2. For example, the five lines of text in two columns at the start of the Easter lections in the Jaharis Lectionary (fol. 3r [fig. 2]) and in Dionysiou 587 (fol. 2r [fig. 97]) are identical except for the final *o*. (If the evidence of the script is ambiguous, that of the images, as we shall see, is not. The Jaharis manuscript is beyond any doubt a work of about 1100, not a Palaiologan imitation of such a book.)

There are signs that the text of the Jaharis Lectionary was corrected by the scribe himself. For example, on folio 229v, lines 11 through 14 in the right column have been written with notably less spacing between the letters than

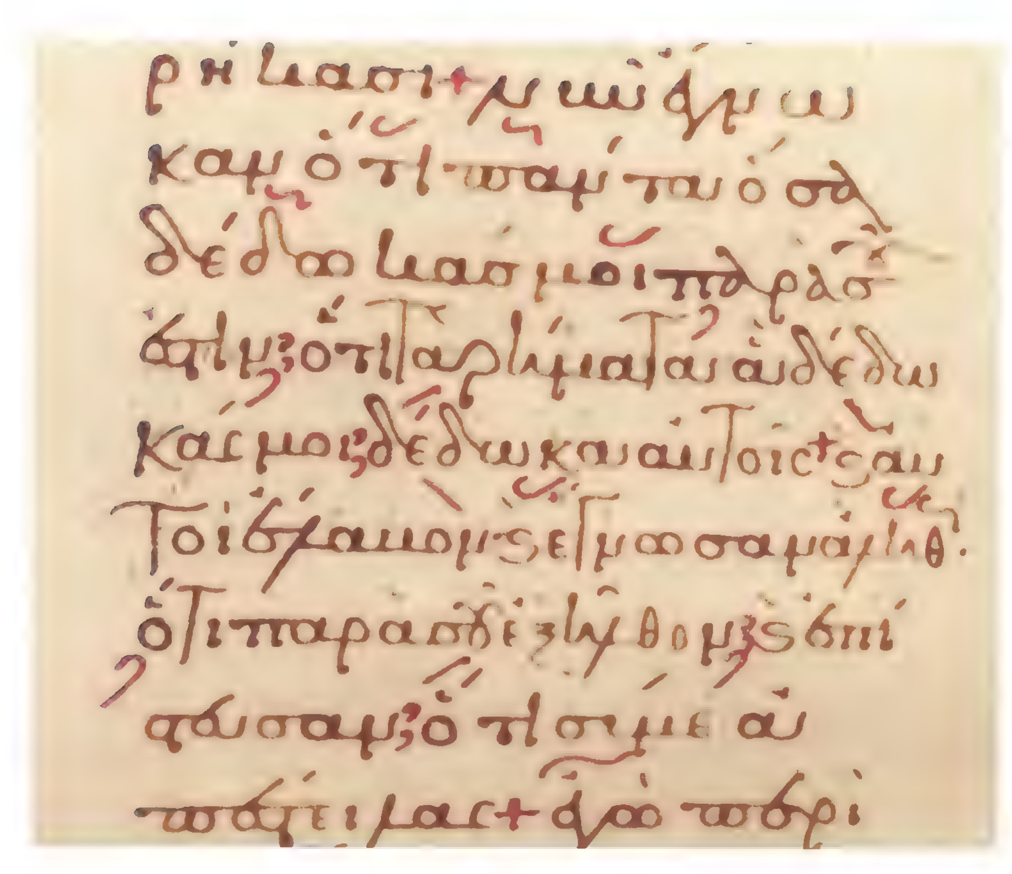
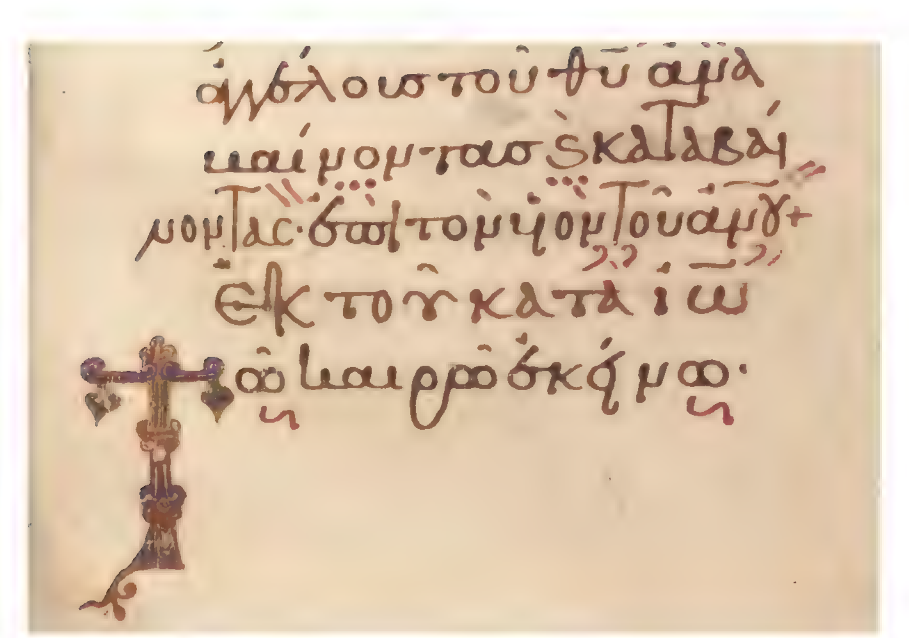


Fig. 33. Detail of text correction by original scribe. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 229v



Fig, 34. Detail of text correction by original scribe. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 7r

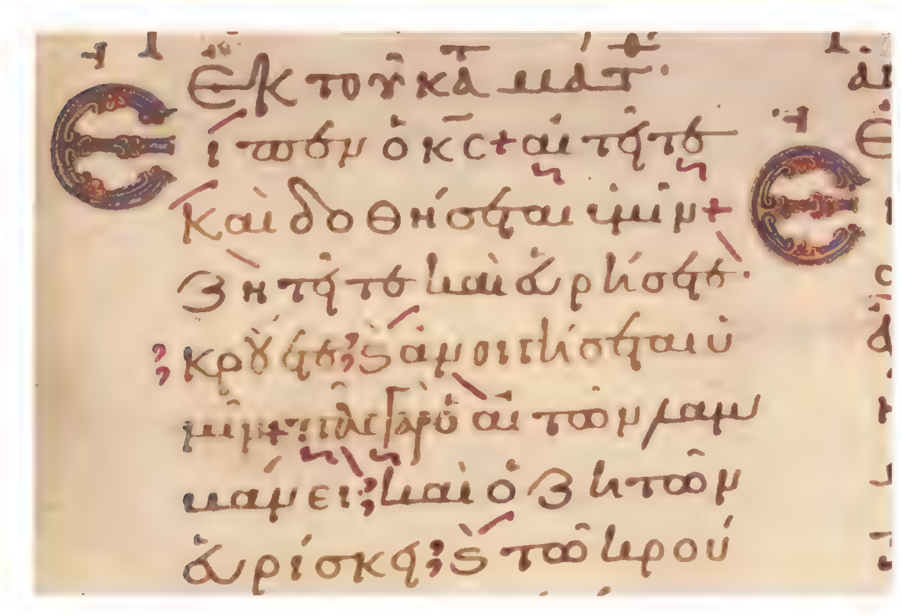


Fig. 35. Detail of text correction by original scribe. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 189r

usual (fig. 33). When the lines are examined carefully it can be seen that there are traces of erased letters under the present script. We can see that the scribe's eye must have jumped from the first occurrence of the words *para sou* (for/of thee) at the end of a line, to the second, four lines below, causing the omission of text that then had to be inserted (Jn 17:7–8). A similar correction over an erasure can be seen on folio 7r (fig. 34), and another on folio 189r (fig. 35). An erasure that canceled text that was not wanted can be seen on folio 77r (fig. 36). All these corrections were by the original scribe, but a later correction, supplying a missing word, can be seen on folio 51v.

Fig. 36. Detail of text correction by erasure in Mt 21:17. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 77r

Fig. 37. Example of "Alexandrian uncial" display script. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 305r (detail)

DISPLAY SCRIPTS

The principal headings on the decorated pages of the Jaharis Lectionary are written in what scholars have termed "epigraphic display script" (*epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel*) of a type ubiquitous in Byzantine manuscripts of the period around 1100.[8] The regular majuscule script is written double height between two lines of the normal ruling pattern with few abbreviations (figs. 1, 2, 30, 88). These display texts were written in a now-faded red (carmine in

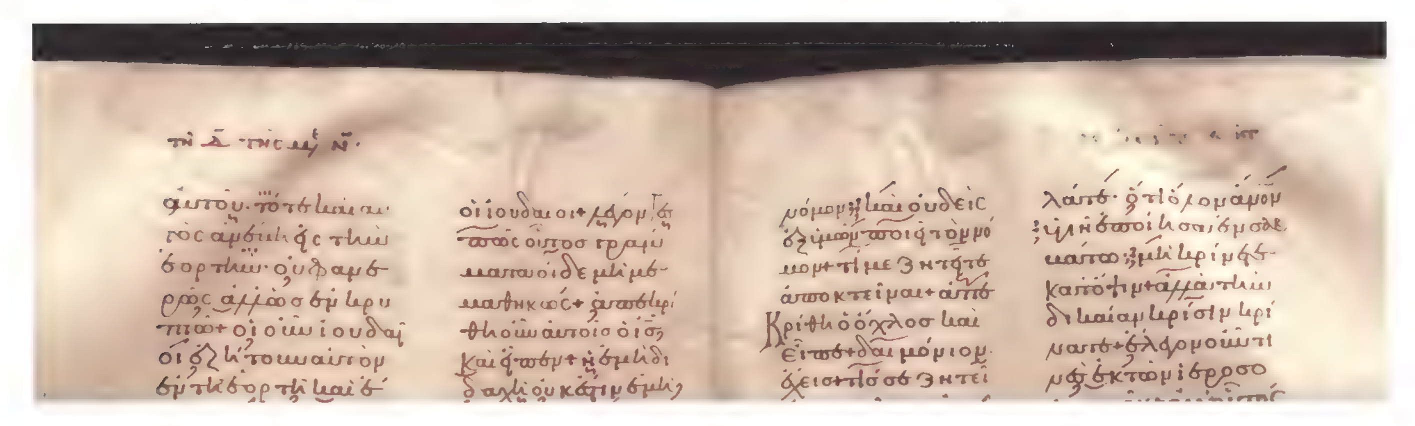


Fig. 38. Detail of water damage in upper margin and offsetting of pigment. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 20v–21r



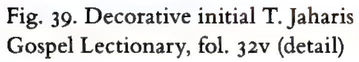


Fig. 39. Decorative initial T. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 32v (detail)



Fig. 40. Decorative initial T. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 140r (detail)



Fig. 41. Decorative initial T. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 15r (detail)

hue, hence kermes was probably the pigment), then overwritten with a thin suspension of gold.

The second display script employed here (e.g., fol. 305r [fig. 37]) is known as "Alexandrian uncial," and is also widely used in Byzantine manuscripts of about 1100.[9] It is characterized by a combination of majuscule and minuscule forms, with most letters conforming to a squarish outline, few extending above or below the resultant horizontal lines, and with few ligatures. Like the headings in epigraphic display script, many of the instances of Alexandrian uncial in the Jaharis Lectionary are written in gold over a carmine ground. Unlike epigraphic script, Alexandrian uncial is also used for long passages, for example, to distinguish the titles, names, and so forth in the menologion from the text of the lections. This pattern of use in the Jaharis Lectionary is identical to that in other luxury lectionaries of about 1100, such as Vat. gr. 1156 (figs. 95, 96). Unfortunately, some of the gilded inscriptions in the top margin have been damaged by an ingress of water, which has left a stain and tide line, and has caused some of the gilding to be offset onto the facing page (e.g., fols. 20v–21r [fig. 38]).

Ekphonetic notation to guide the deacon in his delivery of the lections was supplied throughout by the original scribe(s) (e.g., figs. 27–36). It takes the form of neumes, executed in a faded carmine, but overwritten in gold on the incipit pages. These symbols, written above the syllables of the text, indicate the change of pitch required as the lection is chanted.

DECORATION

The decoration of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary is both figural and nonfigural. The former—the evangelist portraits—is discussed below. The latter comprises the frames of the evangelist portraits; illuminated headpieces introducing the menologion, the "various" lections, and the morning lections on the Resurrection; 11 simpler headbands in the menologion at the start of each month from October to August; and 405 enlarged initials (four of them historiated).

The construction of the nonfigural decoration is consistent throughout the book. Painted in five basic colors (gold, blue, green, and red, with details picked out in white), the decoration is partly geometric and partly based on highly stylized vegetal forms. Such decoration is common in Byzantine manuscripts, not just in the decades around 1100, but over a much longer period, from the late tenth to the late fifteenth century. Originally, this decorative vocabulary was probably intended to imitate precious cloisonné enamel work on gold, of the sort that the most costly books (especially Gospel lectionaries) would (or might) have had on their covers.



Fig. 42. Detail showing damaged initial T. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 140v–141r

The decorated initials are mostly Es or Ts, corresponding to the opening formulas of the lections (see the chapter "Reconstructing Use"). But there are also a few As (fols. 34r, 274r, 277v), a Θ (fol. 4r), two Os (fols. 9v, 251r), and a Π (fol. 200v). The scribe did not leave space for any of these letters, and they are located in the margin to the left of the text, roughly three to five lines high. There is an alternation, not strictly observed, between initials with pigments and gilding, and those with gilding alone. In addition, the decorator sometimes alternated between the usual round E and a tall narrow E standing on a small base, both in the colored and the gilded-only technique. (Such initials are widely found in the Gospel lectionaries that are the Jaharis manuscript's nearest relatives.) One of the gilded Ts is of particularly ornate form (fol. 32v [fig. 39]), and some of the Ts have a broader stem with numerous small flowerlike forms (fol. 140r [fig. 40]), or a pattern of spirals (fol. 15r [fig. 41]). In some cases, damage to the pigments of the initials (e.g., fols. 140v–141r [fig. 42]) appears to have been caused by rubbing.

There is a pi-shaped illuminated headpiece at the start of the menologion (fol. 253r), measuring 3¾ by 3¼ inches (9.5 × 8.3 cm), and illuminated headbands, all measuring approximately ½ by 3¼ inches (1.2 × 8.4 cm), at the beginning of each month (fols. 260v, 265r, 268r, 275v, 282v, 285v, 287v, 288v, 291r, 297r, 299v) and before the incipits of the "various" lections (fol. 305r) and the eleven Resurrection lections (fol. 307r). The pi-shaped headpiece for September (fig. 15) is in the so-called Byzantine-blossom style (*byzantinische Blütenblattstil*), with floral motifs occupying the centers of alternating circles and rotated squares. It stands on a ground line from which, at either side, grows a stylized tree, with lopped branches. At the top corners a shorter stylized plant grows out diagonally (compare the frame around the portrait of Saint John, on folio 3r [figs. 2, 56, 57]). The headbands for the succeeding months are decorated as follows: October (fol. 260v [fig. 43]) has a zigzag stepped cloisonné pattern with white edging; November (fol. 265r [fig. 44]), trefoil flowers in medallions; December (fol. 268r [fig. 45]) and August (fol. 299v [fig. 53]), a stepped cloisonné pattern with white edging. January (fol. 275v [fig. 46]), July (fol. 297r [fig. 52]), the "various" lections (fol. 305r [fig. 54]), and the Resurrection lections (fol. 307r [fig. 55]) all have a zigzag floral pattern. February (fol. 282v [fig. 47]) has square floral panels; March (fol. 285v [fig. 48]), small quatrefoil flowers; April (fol. 287v [fig. 49]), triangular trefoil forms, symmetrical about the center point; May (fol. 288v [fig. 50]), Byzantine blossoms, symmetrical about the center point; and June (fol. 291r [fig. 51]), a plain gold bar on a blue ground. Several of these designs have close parallels in the menologion headpieces in Venice IE 2: the Jaharis headpiece for April is



Fig. 43. Headpiece for October. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 260v (detail)



Fig. 44. Headpiece for November. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 265r (detail)

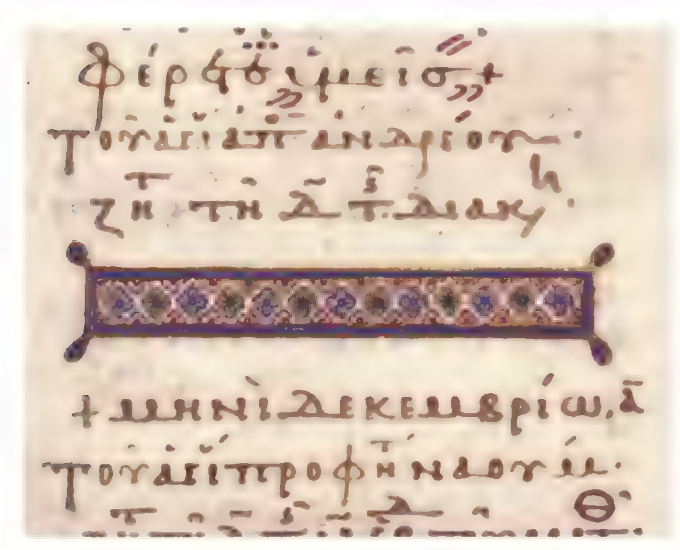


Fig. 45. Headpiece for December. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 268r (detail)



Fig. 46. Headpiece for January. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 275v (detail)



Fig. 47. Headpiece for February. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 282v (detail)



Fig. 48. Headpiece for March. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 285v (detail)



Fig. 49. Headpiece for April. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 287v (detail)



Fig. 50. Headpiece for May. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 288v (detail)



Fig. 51. Headpiece for June. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 291r (detail)



Fig. 52. Headpiece for July. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 297r (detail)



Fig. 53. Headpiece for August. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 299v (detail)



Fig. 54. Headpiece for various lections. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 305r (detail)



Fig. 55. Headpiece for eleven morning resurrection lections. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 307r (detail)

comparable to those for October and December in the Venice Gospel lectionary, and the headpiece for June with those for January, July, and August.

Evangelist Portraits

Undoubtedly the most remarkable feature of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary to a modern viewer are its four evangelist portraits, the first of them—Saint John—much worn by users of the book, but the others in superlative condition. Their rediscovery is an important addition to our understanding of Byzantine art.

SAINT JOHN, FOLIO 3R

Beneath the title for Easter Sunday, which opens the lectionary, we see the evangelist portrait of John, measuring 6⅜ by 6⅞ inches (16.4 × 17.6 cm) overall (figs. 2, 56, 57). He is shown seated and receiving instruction from the hand of God, which extends from a small blue segment of heaven at the top right. John is dressed in a blue chiton (tuniclike inner garment) and pink himation (togalike outer garment). He sits in a high-backed chair, with his feet on a low stool. He looks up toward the hand of God, and raises his right hand, which holds a pen, as though receiving the inspiration to write his gospel. Before him is a writing desk, surmounted by a lectern from which hangs a short scroll. John holds an open book with his left hand. Both book and scroll are blank. The desk has scribal implements on it, and one of its doors is open to reveal additional scribal materials within. The foreground is a dull gray-blue. In the background is an olive green wall, surmounted by a blue cornice. The upper half of the miniature is gilded, using a suspension of gold applied with a brush (sometimes called "shell gold"), but wear has revealed the carmine preparatory ground that lies beneath. This technique (rather than using gold leaf) is also found, for example, in evangelist portraits in Morgan M. 639 (fig. 58) and Venice IE 2 (fig. 91) and in a full-page narrative illustration in Vat. gr. 1156 (fig. 94). Behind the evangelist, at the left, are a pink wall and a tall doorway surmounted by a semicircular tympanum and a red-tiled roof. A gray-blue curtain hangs in the doorway and is looped at midpoint over a projecting rod.

The image of John is surrounded by a richly decorated border. In the four corners are square panels enclosing nine small medallions, each containing a four-petaled flower on a white ground. These can be compared with the corners of the border of the Saint Matthew portrait in Morgan M. 639 (fig. 58). Also comparable are the corners of a headpiece to a Gospel lectionary in Athens (fig. 59).[10] A different version of the white-framed-corner motif, in which four penannular designs forming a cross are combined with four heart-shaped patterns on the diagonals, can be seen in Iviron 1404, fol. 1r;[11] Chilandar 105, fol. 83r;[12] Pantokrator 10, fol. 3r;[13] Lavra A 113, fol. 5r;[14] and Lavra A 118, fol. 136a.[15] These and additional manuscripts have been linked together as the products of a single Constantinopolitan workshop by Irmgard Hutter.[16]

The rest of the border is covered by blue trefoils of the type characteristic of the Byzantine-blossom style, based on a pattern of rotated squares. The headpiece stands on a ground line from which grows, at either side, a stylized tree, with lopped branches. At the top corners a shorter stylized plant grows out diagonally.

Above and below are titles written in two-line-high display script. With the loss of its gold surface the text now appears red. Below are five lines of gold minuscule text, similarly worn. At the left is a tall pointed initial E, 3 inches (7.8 cm) high, composed of leafy and floral elements like those that make up the portrait's frame (fig. 60). A standing haloed figure in the bowl of the E, much abraded, looks upward to the right. It may be another image of Saint John (compare Venice IE 2 [fig. 75]).

The page is discolored and shows signs of wear. Some flaking of the pigments has occurred throughout. There is a stain of water damage at the lower left. In the lower

Fig. 56. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint John. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 2v–3r





Fig. 57. Saint John. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 3r (detail)



Fig. 58. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Ms. M. 639, fol. 49r)



Fig. 59. Opening page of the menologion, September 1. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. National Library of Greece, Athens (Ms. 2645, fol. 167r)



Fig. 60. Decorative initial E. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 3r (detail)

margin, written in black ink, is the note of ownership of Chrysanthos Notaras, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the date 1707 (see the chapter "Retracing History").

SAINT MATTHEW, FOLIO 43R

The lections from Matthew begin on folio 43r with a headpiece in excellent condition, measuring 6½ by 7 inches (16.4 × 18 cm) (figs. 30, 61, 62). In general the page resembles the opening page with Saint John (fol. 3r). In this case, however, the evangelist looks across at his blank scroll, the hand of God is somewhat nearer the evangelist, and the building at the left, now with two domelike, or apselike roofs, is balanced by a green building at the right, over which is draped a gray-blue cloth. The craftsmanship with which Matthew has been rendered is superlative. Comparison can be made with the Matthew of the Gospel lectionary Morgan M. 639 (fig. 58). Less close, but still comparable, are the Matthews of the Gospel lectionary Sinai gr. 205 (fig. 63);[17] Gospel books in Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 6.23 [fig. 64])[18] and Oxford (Bodleian Library, Ms. E. D. Clarke 10 [fig. 65]);[19] and a Psalter and New Testament in Washington, D.C. (Dumbarton Oaks, Ms. 3 [fig. 66]).[20]

Here the ornament of the border of the image is based on a design of interlocking circles. Below, as with the portrait of Saint John, is a two-line-high title in gold display script, and the first five lines of the text in gold minuscule. The historiated initial E is 2½ inches (6.5 cm) tall. It encloses a seated figure of Christ who addresses with his right hand a small boy, who stands at a lower level and lifts both hands in entreaty (fig. 67). The explanation for this composition can be found in the opening words of the lection on this page: "The Lord said 'See that you never despise one of these little ones'" (Matthew 18:10).

SAINT LUKE, FOLIO 109R

The lections from Luke begin with an evangelist portrait, measuring 6 by 7⅛ inches (15.5 × 18.2 cm) (figs. 1, 68, 69), closely comparable to the depictions of John and Matthew. Like the portrait of Matthew, that of Luke is in superb condition, except for some flaking of the pigments on the evangelist's hair and beard. In this case the writing desk is near the center of the composition, and Luke reaches forward to place his left hand on the book that is placed on the dolphin-shaped lectern. Here the back wall is pink, and decorated with monochrome figures: two profile heads facing each other, a bag hanging by a strap, a classicizing figure of a naked man in profile to the right, supported on a sketchy capital—doubtless intended to be a statue on a column—and a column supporting a sphere. Above the wall at the right is a small domed ciborium, in which hangs a red textile. Another, longer red textile runs along part of the cornice of the background wall. Luke's portrait is of a thin-faced figure with high cheekbones and a sparse beard. A general comparison can be made with the image of Luke in a Gospel book in Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 6.23 [fig. 70]). For Luke's gesture, we can compare the portrait here with one in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and New Testament (Ms. 3 [fig. 71]).[21]

The border is another variation on the flower-petal design, this time with four bold circular patterns in the upper and lower borders, and another three to each side. The design of the border is comparable to that of borders found on folios 20v (fig. 72) and 134v of the Skeuophylakion Gospel Lectionary, at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos,[22] and in Gospel books in Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 6.23 [fig. 70]) and Egypt (Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai gr. 275).[23] This characteristic circular spiky design continued in use into the mid-twelfth century, as may be seen, for example, in the famous copy, of about 1150, at the Monastery of Saint Catherine of the Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzos (Sinai Ms. gr. 339, fol. 341v).[24]

Below the portrait of Luke is the gold title, as with John and Matthew. Here, however, six rather than five lines of



Fig. 61. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 42v–43r



Fig. 62. Saint Matthew. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 43r (detail)



Fig. 63. Saint Matthew. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Ms. gr. 205, fol. 45v)



Fig. 64. Saint Matthew. Gospel Book. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera and gold on parchment. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (Ms. plut. 6.23, fol. 4v)



Fig. 65. Saint Matthew. Gospel Book. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera and gold on parchment. Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. E. D. Clarke 10, fol. 10v)



Fig. 66. Saint John. Psalter and New Testament. Constantinople, dated 1084. Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. (Ms. 3, fol. 261r)



Fig. 67. Decorative initial E. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 43r (detail)

gold script follow. The initial T, 1⅞ inches (5 cm) tall, is formed around the tall figure of John the Baptist (fig. 73). He looks and gestures toward the margin at the right where sits the crowned figure of Herod, with Herodias standing behind him (fig. 74). This is in illustration of the opening words of the lection: "At that time Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias, his brother Philip's wife . . ." (Luke 3:19). A closely comparable arrangement is found in the Gospel lectionary Venice IE 2 (fig. 75). In both cases, Herodias is dressed, unusually, in a long white tunic, decorated with fine strokes of blue and red. Writing in 1883 about "peintures et autres ornements" (paintings and other decorations) in Greek manuscripts, Henri Bordier proposed to identify the couple as portraits of the artist, seated, and his wife, standing (see the chapter "Retracing History"). Were the identification well founded, the image would be a striking witness to Byzantine artistic self-portraiture. Noting that the "artist and his wife" chose to represent themselves with the image of Saint Luke, doubtless because Luke, too, was famed in the Orthodox world as a painter, Bordier interpreted the figures painted on the wall behind the evangelist (together with the implements on the desk) as evidence that the saint was shown at work not in his own workshop but in that of the artist and his wife. This fanciful interpretation is an interesting insight into late nineteenth-century attitudes toward Byzantine art. Bordier considered the image of "the artist and his wife" sufficiently important to make it the valediction of his book. But Bordier's interpretation may not have been so wide of the mark. The image may have been intended to represent Saint Luke in *his* workshop, not in the workshop of a Byzantine artist about 1100. Certainly the monochrome statue on its capital is most unusual, and merits further investigation.[25]

SAINT MARK, FOLIO 191R

The lections from Mark begin with a large headpiece, measuring 6⅝ by 7⅛ inches (17 × 18.2 cm) (figs. 76, 77, 88), that is closely comparable with the headpieces for John, Matthew, and Luke. Mark places his pen on the blank book he holds in his left hand as though to write the opening of his gospel. Here the segment of heaven is larger than in the other evangelist portraits, and the background wall is now a colonnade supported on marble columns, with a small garden containing three trees behind a white metal fence appearing above the wall at the right. At the left is a building similar to that in the portrait of Saint John (figs. 2, 56, 57), with a curtain hooked over a metal rod. Comparison can again be made with the portrait of Luke in the Florence Gospel book (Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 6.23 [fig. 70]) and, for the saint's gesture, with the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and New Testament (Ms. 3 [fig. 78]).[26] For the evangelist and the initial T with Christ (see below), we could compare the same combination in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. suppl. gr. 27, fols. 60v, 85v [fig. 79], 91v).[27] The garden seen through a railing has parallels in the Gospel lectionary Morgan M. 639 (fig. 58) and the Vatican *Heavenly Ladder* of Saint John Climachus (Vat. gr. 394, fol. 74r).[28]

The border is based on a repeating pattern of equal-armed crosses with chamfered ends. Below it is the usual title in gold, five lines of gold script, and an initial T, this one 2⅛ inches (5.5 cm) tall and partially formed by a standing figure of Christ (fig. 80). This is in illustration of the opening words: "And it came to pass that he went through the cornfields . . ." (Mark 2:23).

Binding and Flyleaves

The final stage of production of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary would have been the binding. Most of the evidence of this was lost when the present binding of dark brown leather on wooden boards was supplied (fig. 81). This was the work of the Parisian firm Petit-Simier, as indicated by a small gilded inscription stamped on the bottom



Fig. 68. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Luke. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 108v–109r



Fig. 69. Saint Luke. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 109r (detail)



Fig. 70. Saint Luke. Gospel Book. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (Ms. plut. 6.23, fol. 100v)



Fig. 71. Saint James. Psalter and New Testament. Constantinople, dated 1084. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. (Ms. 3, fol. 250r)



Fig. 72. Headpiece. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, 12th century. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Holy Monastery of the Great Lavra, Mount Athos (Ms. of the Skeuophylakion, fol. 20v, detail)

of the spine (fig. 3). It was presumably supplied for Henri Bordier after he acquired the book in 1877, for there was very little time between the arrival in Paris in that year of the lectionary's previous owner, Constantin Erbiceanu, and the manuscript's being offered for sale—perhaps a month at most (see "Retracing History"). Most remarkably, and fortunately, the binder did not trim the edges of the pages, and thus preserved a decoration comprising medallions with busts of haloed saints (three on the top and bottom edges, four on the fore edge) within a vine scroll on a gilded ground (figs. 82–84). The manuscript block is now about 4¼ inches (11 cm) thick, but the vertical dimension of the medallions, 3⅛ inches (8 cm), suggests the manuscript is thicker now than when the

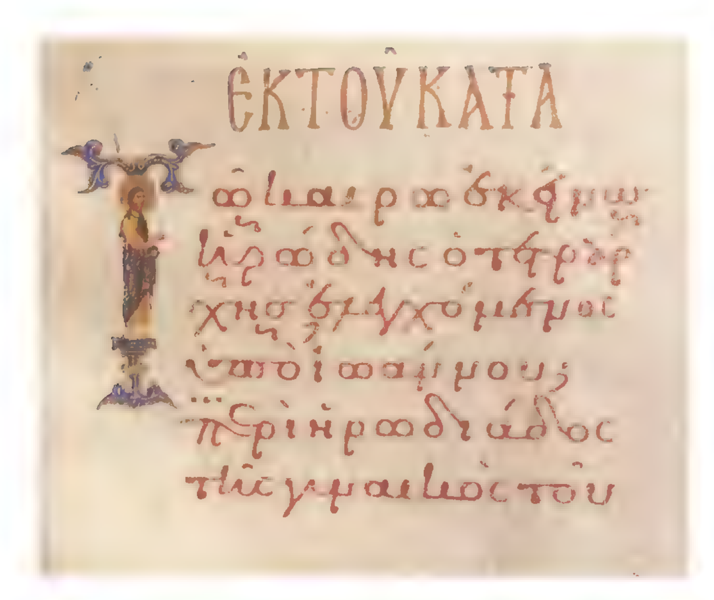


Fig. 73. Saint John the Baptist as the initial T. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 109r (detail)



Fig. 74. Herod and Herodias. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 109r (detail)



Fig. 75. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint Luke with marginal images of Saint John the Baptist, Saint Luke, and Herod and Herodias. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Gold and ink on parchment. Istituto Ellenico, Venice (Ms. IE 2, fol. 144r)



Fig. 76. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Mark. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 190v–191r



Fig. 77. Saint Mark. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 191r (detail)



Fig. 78. Saint Luke. Psalter and New Testament. Constantinople, dated 1084. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. (Ms. 3, fol. 151r)

Fig. 79. Saint Mark. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. suppl. gr. 27, fol. 85v)

decoration was executed, as the "circles" have been swollen and distorted by the buckling of the leaves and are now some 3⅞ inches (10 cm) wide. The four figures on the fore edge, turned alternately to left and right, are perhaps the four evangelists. The three figures on the top and bottom edges are perhaps apostles. This type of edge decoration is highly unusual. Simple patterns, generally of circles, can, it is true, be found quite frequently.[29] These are sometimes rendered in precious materials, such as the silk- and silver-



Fig. 80. Christ as the initial T. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 191r (detail)



Fig. 81. Binding by Petit-Simier, Paris. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary

thread–embroidered crosses in medallions on the edges of a Gospel book in the National Library of Greece, Athens (cod. 56).[30] But the presence of images in this location is most uncommon.

A manuscript presented to the Monastery of Saint Catherine, at Sinai, the Gospel lectionary Ms. 207, has a silver-gilt binding, dated 1604, with images of the four evangelists in medallions on the fore edge.[31] So far this appears to be the closest parallel to the edge decoration of the Jaharis Lectionary. Research on Byzantine and post-Byzantine bindings is sure to bring more evidence to light.[32]

FLYLEAVES

The lectionary, as rebound by Petit-Simier, preserves various flyleaves from earlier bindings. At the front (fols. 1–2) is a bifolio recycled from a high-quality manuscript of the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom (fig. 85). Its page size, about 13⅜ by 10¼ inches (34 × 26 cm), is slightly smaller than that of the lectionary, 13⅞ by 10½ inches (35.5 × 26.8 cm). It is written in two columns of thirty-three lines, in a text block 9½ by 6½ by 2½ inches (24.3 × 16.7 × 6.5 cm), in a simple ruling pattern (Sautel/Leroy type 00C2). The script is of characteristic "minuscule bouletée" type, and dates the parent manuscript from which the bifolio was removed to the middle decades of the tenth century.[33] In its reuse, the bifolio has been folded back to front, so that the text on what became folio 2 now follows, rather than precedes, as it should, the text on folio 1. Folio 2r begins with Chrysostom's third (here numbered fourth) oration (*concio*), on the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31).[34] It has a simple penwork headband, about ¼ by 2½ inches (.8 × 6.6 cm), with a simple interlace pattern, and an enlarged initial O. An invocation to "the pure the undefiled" (*achrantes, amiantes, achrantes*) is written in a possibly thirteenth- or fourteenth-century hand in the lower margin.[35] The length of the gap in the text between the end of what is now folio 2v and the start of what is now folio 1r indicates that four pages, i.e., one bifolio (hence the central bifolio of a quire in the parent manuscript), is missing. That bifolio was doubtless used in the rebinding of some other manuscript. If it survives it should not be hard to identify, given that we know its incipit and explicit. It would be worth trying to trace this leaf, as it might pin down the whereabouts of the Jaharis Lectionary at the time when it was rebound.

At the end of the book is another bifolio (fols. 311–312) from a different manuscript, written in two narrow columns in an eleventh- or twelfth-century hand (figs. 86, 87). It measures 13½ by 9⅝ inches (34.3 × 24.5 cm) overall (perceptibly smaller than the dimensions of the lectionary), and is ruled for thirty-one lines, in a text block 9 by 5½ by 2⅛ inches (23 × 14 × 5.5 cm), in the pattern Sautel/Leroy 34D2n. This bifolio contains part of the Life of Saint



Fig. 82. Decoration of the fore edge of the leaves. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary



Fig. 83. Decoration of the top edge of the leaves. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary

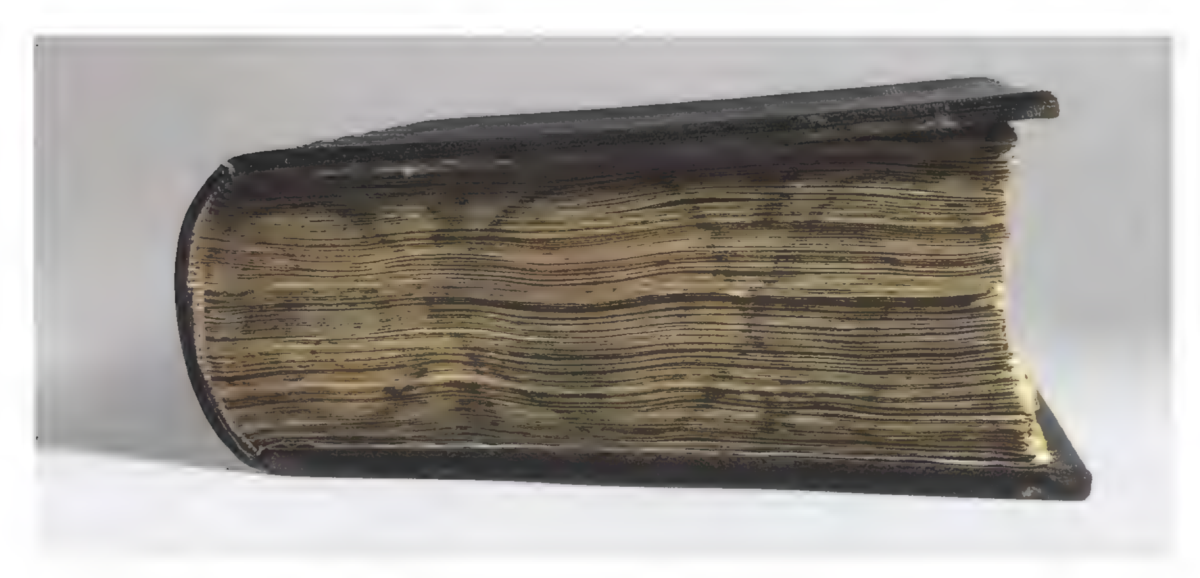


Fig. 84. Decoration of the bottom edge of the leaves. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary

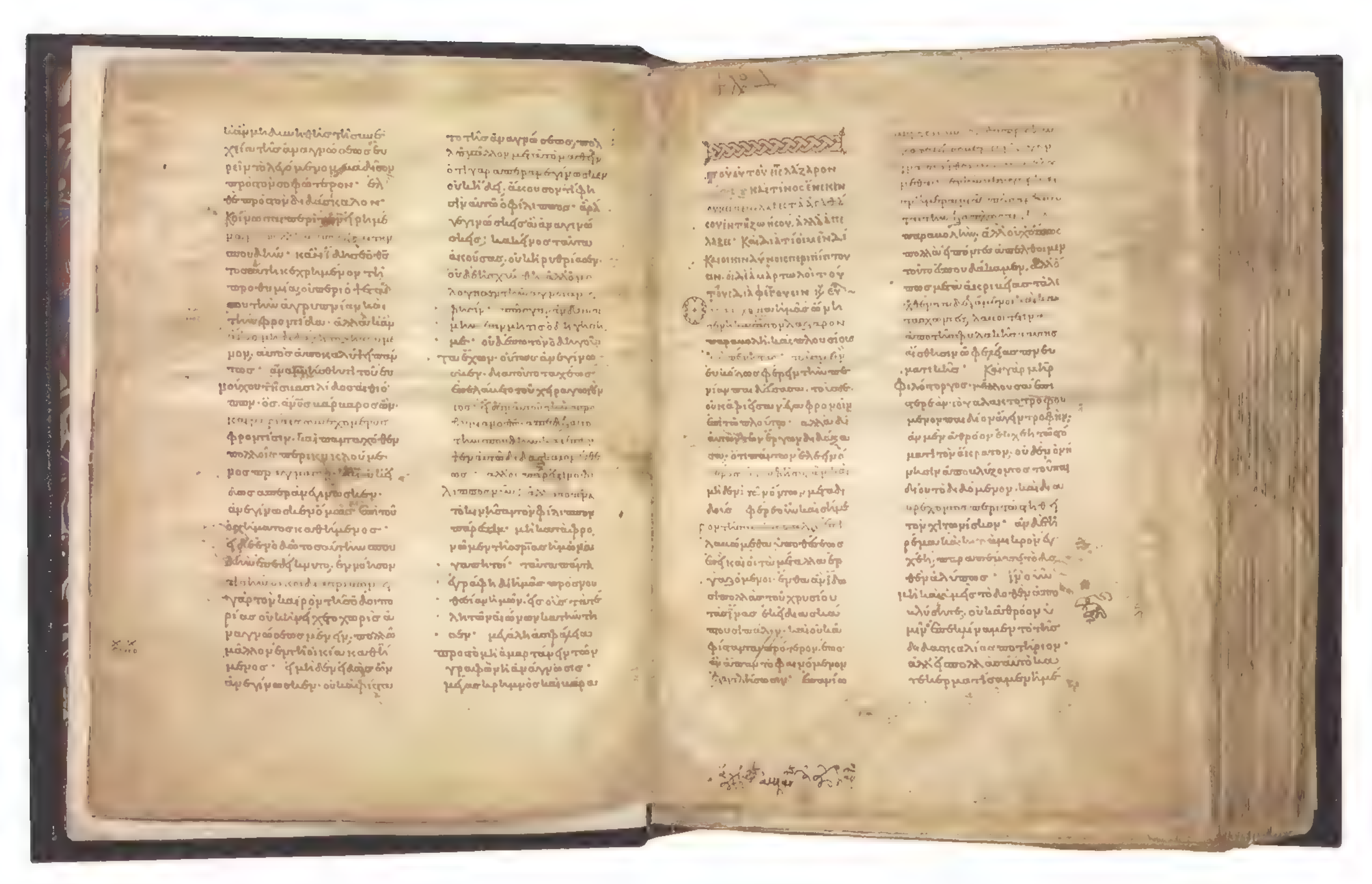


Fig. 85. Bifolio from a copy of Homilies of John Chrysostom, reused in binding. Constantinople (?), mid-10th century. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 1v–2r

Euthymios from the menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes (a tenth-century multivolume collection of saints' lives) for the second half of January.[36] The bifolio is followed by a single leaf (fol. 313) formerly pasted to the rear cover of the book (fig. 87). Like the preliminary bifolio, this is from a manuscript of the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom. But it is from a much less carefully executed volume, probably of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date. The overall dimensions of the leaf are 13½ by 9⅝ inches (34.3 × 24.5 cm), and it is ruled for thirty-three lines, in a text block 9¾ by 6⅝ by 2⅞ inches (25 × 17 × 7.5 cm), in the simple pattern Leroy 00C2. It is striking that the text as written fails to follow the guidelines of the vertical rulings. The text on folio 313 is from Chrysostom's Homily 46/47, on Matthew.[37] Quite probably all these flyleaves were introduced into the binding at the same time. Were this the case, then the rebinding would have to postdate the most recent recycled leaf. Thus the rebinding was probably done in the fifteenth century or later.

In this chapter we have observed visual parallels, in scripts, decoration, and figure drawing, between the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary and the core manuscripts of the patriarchal group (Morgan M. 639, Venice IE 2, Vat. gr. 1156, Dionysiou 587) as well as other lectionaries (Athens EBE 2645, Mount Athos, Iviron 1404, Chilandar 105, Pantokrator 10, Lavra A 113, Lavra A 118) and, to a lesser extent, a range of books of different type (Sinai gr. 205, 275; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 6.23; Mount Athos, Great Lavra, Skeuophylakion Gospels; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. E. D. Clarke 10; Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, Ms. 3). We shall see in the next chapter, however, that arguments from such connoisseurship can be fragile, for by taking specific examples out of their context it is possible to build a hypothesis that may be seriously misleading. Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that serves to differentiate the Jaharis Lectionary from its relatives.



Fig. 86. Last original leaf (at left, blank) and reused 11th-century (?) leaf from a copy of Symeon Metaphrastes' *Menologion* (at right). Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 310v–311r



Fig. 87. Reused leaf from an 11th-century (?) copy of Symeon Metaphrastes' *Menologion* (at left) and from a 14th-century (?) copy of Homilies of John Chrysostom. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fols. 312v–313r



+ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ
διεπορεύετο ὁ ἰς̄
τοῖς σάββασι διὰ
τῶν σπορίμων·
καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ μα
θηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὁδὸν
ποιεῖν τίλλοντες
τοὺς στάχυας· καὶ
οἱ φαρισαῖοι ἔλε
γον αὐτῷ· ἴδε τί

CONTEXTUALIZING PRODUCTION

The tradition of illustrated Gospel books (as distinct from Gospel lectionaries) can be traced back in surviving manuscripts to the sixth century. Even in the early period, such books used images and decoration in a remarkable variety of ways. This suggests that there was no standard schema to which they were attempting to conform.[1] In other words, although scribes were obliged to copy the Gospel texts scrupulously, no similar constraint governed the activities of those who added images and decoration to the Gospels.

Surveying such books, we find that there might be images of the Cross on the exterior or in the interior of the book.[2] There might be canon tables (a type of biblical concordance) with rows of numbers arranged in ornate architectonic settings. The canon tables might be accompanied by other illustrated or decorated pages, or might even be themselves the locus for extensive illustration. Evangelist portraits on single leaves might be included, as might composite miniatures of multiple scenes from the Gospels. Such images might be included as frontispieces, or be located in the text in a blank space left for the purpose by the scribe. The only striking addition in subsequent centuries to this repertoire was the inclusion of lengthy narrative cycles, integrated into the text, in the so-called frieze Gospels, dating from the second half of the eleventh century and later.[3] But even this procedure has sometimes been thought, unconvincingly in my view, to be descended from one or more lost early models. The evidence instead suggests that the frieze Gospels were a new development, probably of the second half of the eleventh century, when Byzantine illumination was at its apogee. Remarkably, as we shall see, a comparable lack of consistency in the planning and execution of manuscript decoration prevailed half a millennium after the beginnings of Gospel book illustration, when the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary and its relatives were made.

We have seen, in the chapter "Reconstructing Use," that textually the Jaharis Lectionary is virtually identical to the illuminated Gospel lectionary Morgan M. 639, and that, among illuminated lectionaries, its nearest close relatives include Venice IE 2 and its textual twin, Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7; Vat. gr. 1156; and, to a lesser extent, Dionysiou 587. (Another pair of textual twins related to the Jaharis manuscript, Paris Ms. gr. 286 and Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23, are not illustrated.) Another textual comparandum, the illustrated lectionary Paris suppl. gr. 1096, is dated 1070, thus roughly situating the Jaharis Lectionary and its relatives in time. Yet the illustrative programs of these books, in contrast to their texts, are completely different. This disparity will require explanation. For the purpose of discussion, all the manuscripts will here be treated as approximately contemporary with one another. No relative chronology among them can be reliably proposed at the present time, and it is important to avoid the type of circular argument that sets off from a priori assumptions and then, not surprisingly, finds solutions borne out by those assumptions.

Summary of Decorative Schemes in Gospel Lectionaries Related to the Jaharis Lectionary, Circa 1100

When one looks at the entire millenium of the Byzantine state, from the 400s to 1453, it is striking that the great majority of lavishly decorated Gospel lectionaries seem to have been made over a relatively short period, between about 1050 and 1150. To survey all such books, even at a relatively superficial level, would be an enormous task. The Jaharis Lectionary, however, suggests an alternative: namely, to focus attention on the group of manuscripts that have been already identified on textual grounds as related in some way to one another, namely the Hagia Sophia lectionaries. But even this restricted group will have to be surveyed in a highly selective manner if the evidence is not to be overwhelming, for it includes some

Opposite: Fig. 88. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint Mark. Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, fol. 191r



Fig. 89. Opening page of the Gospel of Saint John, with images of the Anastasis and John with his scribe Prochoros. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Ms. M. 639, fol. 1r)



Fig. 90. Opening of the menologion, September 1, with images of Christ in the synagogue at Nazareth and the death of Saint Symeon the Stylite. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Ms. M. 639, fol. 294r)



Fig. 91. Opening of the Gospel of Saint John with a "carpet-page" frontispiece (at left, ca. 1100) and headpiece (at right, restored ca. 1300). Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Gold and ink on parchment. Istituto Ellenico, Venice (Ms. IE 2, fols. 3v–4r)

of the most profusely illustrated Byzantine manuscripts (Vat. gr. 1156, for example), which would require a massive undertaking merely to describe. Rather than looking in a connoisseur-like fashion at small details in search of similarities (which might then be explained by a range of hypotheses, such as the participation of the same artist, for example, or production in the same workshop), the focus here will be on broad questions relating to the planning and content of the illustration.

In brief, therefore, the plan for the figurative decoration of the Jaharis Lectionary was simple. It comprised four evangelist portraits, each approximately three-quarter page in format, and each showing a seated figure set within an illuminated headpiece (figs. 57, 62, 69, 77). These were pages integral to the book. There are also small-scale marginal figures and historiated initials, and these are found only on the four principal decorated pages (figs. 56, 61, 68, 76).

Morgan M. 639, the textual twin of the Jaharis Lectionary, begins in a totally different way, with an image within a headpiece combining the Anastasis (the Easter image of the Resurrection, at the left) with a standing John and his seated scribe Prochoros (at the right) (fig. 89).[4] The other three evangelist portraits, set within illuminated headpieces, are similar to those in the Jaharis manuscript (compare the two Matthews, figs. 58, 62), with the exception that Morgan M. 639 places Mark in a circular frame. Unlike Jaharis, Morgan M. 639 has eight small narrative scenes in spaces left for this purpose in the text by the scribe. Four are in the synaxarion: the Apostles' Baptism (Washing of the Feet), the Betrayal, the Denial and Penitence of Peter, the Deposition and Entombment (Threnos); and four are in the menologion: the Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Annunciation, and Koimesis (death of the Theotokos). In addition, in Morgan M. 639 twenty-two small-scale marginal compositions and historiated initials are scattered through the book. They are not located just at the main textual incipits (as in Jaharis). At the start of the menologion, Morgan M. 639 (unlike Jaharis)



Fig. 92. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100 (image supplied ca. 1150). Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Auct. T inf. 2.7, fols. 44v–45r)

has a second headpiece combining two figurative scenes (fig. 90): Christ reading from Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk 4:16–20, the lection for September 1), and the death of Saint Symeon Stylites the Elder (also commemorated on September 1). The two compositions are of differing widths, respectively approximately two-thirds to one-third of the total, and the result looks unbalanced and as a result awkward. In sum, the plans for the decoration in Jaharis and Morgan M. 639, despite their textual one-ness, were completely different.

Venice IE 2 has a carpet-page frontispiece (unlike any of the other manuscripts in the group) facing an unusually asymmetrical image (which also has no parallel in the group) (fig. 91).[5] In this image, the enthroned Christ at the left is placed above four seraphim. He is approached from the right by the Theotokos and Saint Peter (above), and the Baptist and Saint Paul (below). At the far right are two angels also approaching. The image was, I propose, overpainted in the Palaiologan era, probably late in the thirteenth century and plausibly for Antonios Malakes, archbishop of Veroia (near Thessaloniki), who indicated his ownership of the book by adding his name on the last page.[6] (He also collected and commissioned other illuminated books.) Remarkably, Venice IE 2 has no evangelist portraits at all (nor did it ever have them), but it does contain ninety-four marginal scenes or groups of figures scattered through the book. These marginal compositions, although similar in layout to those in Morgan M. 639, are not especially close in content to those in the Morgan book. None of these compositions in Venice IE 2, however, is in a space left for this purpose in the text by the scribe (as was sometimes the case in Morgan M. 639). Although the frontispiece was painted on the verso of a leaf, blank on its recto, the ruling pattern shows that it is integral to the book.

Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7, the textual twin of Venice IE 2, has full-page evangelist portraits on inserted single leaves (fig. 92), no prefatory carpet-page, and no small



Fig. 93. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. gr. 1156, fols. 69v–70r)



Fig. 94. Opening page of lection for Holy Thursday, prefaced by six scenes of Christ's Passion, from the Agony in the Garden to the Anastasis. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. gr. 1156, fols. 194v–195r)



Fig. 95. Opening of the menologion, September 1. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. gr. 1156, fol. 242r)



Fig. 96. Menologion, commemorations for November 7–11 with appropriate images of saints. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. gr. 1156, fol. 266r)



Fig. 97. Opening of the Gospel of Saint John, with images of Saint John with his scribe Prochoros and the Anastasis. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos (Ms. 587, fols. 1v–2r)

marginal figures. In all these aspects of its illustration, therefore, the Oxford manuscript was in planning and execution completely different from Venice IE 2. The contrast between the evidence of text and image is especially stark in this case. But it should be noted that the evangelist portraits were probably added to the manuscript around the middle or third quarter of the twelfth century.[7]

Vat. gr. 1156 has full-page evangelist portraits (as distinct from the half-page compositions of Jaharis and Morgan M. 639) (fig. 93), and one full-page composite image of six scenes from Christ's passion (the latter without parallel in our group) (fig. 94).[8] The Passion scenes preface the lections for Holy Thursday. There are some parallels between these images and the small framed scenes inserted in the text of Morgan M. 639. A rather distant point of comparison for both is provided by the full-page images in the illustrated Gospel book (not lectionary) in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (Ms. 5).[9] Vat. gr. 1156 also has numerous scenes in spaces left in the text, and hundreds of images of the saints commemorated in the menologion, also in spaces left by the scribe in the text. Again these are different in detail from what we find in any of the other patriarchal lectionaries (fig. 96). The menologion begins with a headpiece enclosing images of the saints for September 1, which is unlike the arrangement in any of the textually related books (fig. 95). Overall, Vat. gr. 1156 is of a decorative richness completely unparalleled in the members of the group, except perhaps Dionysiou 587.

Paris. suppl. gr. 1096 is very different in appearance. Script and ornament are much less carefully executed. The only illustration is a frontispiece with all four evangelists in a framed image subdivided into four compartments. Its circumstances of production were certainly different from those others to which it is related textually.

Dionysiou 587 has a full-page frontispiece evangelist portrait of a standing John with his seated scribe Prochoros. This faces an image of the Anastasis within a large headpiece (and is thus comparable to the image in Morgan M. 639) (fig. 97). Dionysiou 587, however, has no other evangelist portraits, in contrast to, for example, Morgan M. 639. It also has numerous scenes and figures in spaces of varying sizes left in the text and/or margins throughout



Fig. 98. Opening of the menologion, September 1, image of Saint Symeon the Stylite. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos (Ms. 587, fol. 116r)



Fig. 99. Opening of the menologion, September 1, image of Saint Symeon the Stylite. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos (Skeuophylakion Ms. 3*, fol. 229r)

the synaxarion and menologion. The start of the menologion has a large image of Saint Symeon (fig. 98). The elements that make the images of Dionysiou 587 unlike those of any other manuscript in the group are more significant than those that make such books similar.

A small number of further little-known illustrated Gospel lectionaries can be mentioned in this context, because future research may show them to have specific links to Jaharis. The first is a manuscript discovered in the 1990s in the skeuophylakion (sacristy) of the Vatopedi Monastery, on Mount Athos.[10] Vatopedi Ms. 3* has full-page evangelist portraits (it lacks Matthew and Luke), large headpieces, and small-scale marginal figures scattered through the book. A small image of Christ in a medallion is flanked by angels, the Theotokos, and John the Baptist in the headpieces on folios 3r and 67r. At the start of the menologion (folio 229r) is a magnificent panel of decoration enclosing a quatrefoil with an image of Saint Symeon Stylites, atop his column, flanked by a haloed man and woman in monastic dress (fig. 99). (Dionysiou 587 has a comparable but more complex miniature; fig. 98.) Unfortunately, very little information about this book is currently available, and the promised study by the Greek scholar Sotiris Kadas is eagerly anticipated.[11]

A little-known Gospel lectionary with evangelist portraits of Matthew and Mark related to those of the Jaharis Lectionary is in Ukraine, at the Historical Museum, Odessa (Ms. ПИ-2251 [l 1554]).[12] In 1120, according to a colophon, it was purchased from the imperial treasurer, the great "logaristes" Konstantinos Moschos, for seventeen gold nomismata by a priest John, assistant of the "great hetairearch" (another imperial official). Interestingly, given how some of our lectionaries seem to be textual pairs, the colophon records that this lectionary was bought "together with another matching (or painted?) companion (or complete?) evangelion" (συν το ετερο ομοιογραφω ευαγγελιο το υφος, *Syn to hetero homoiographō evangelio to hyphos*). The pose of the Odessa Matthew (fig. 100) is very similar to



Fig. 100. Opening page of lections from the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Gospel Lectionary. Constantinople, ca. 1100. Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment. Local History Museum, Odessa (Ms. ПИ-2251, fol. 41r)

that of the Jaharis Luke (fig 69) The Morgan M 639 Matthew (fig. 58) is also comparable.

Another seemingly comparable book is in the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Ms. gr. 511 [fig. 16], formerly in the library of the Synod). This is a select lectionary (that is, with readings only for a small selection of days rather than the entire year), its text written entirely in gold. The evangelist portrait of Matthew bears comparison with the Matthew of Oxford Auct. T inf. 2.7 (fig. 92).

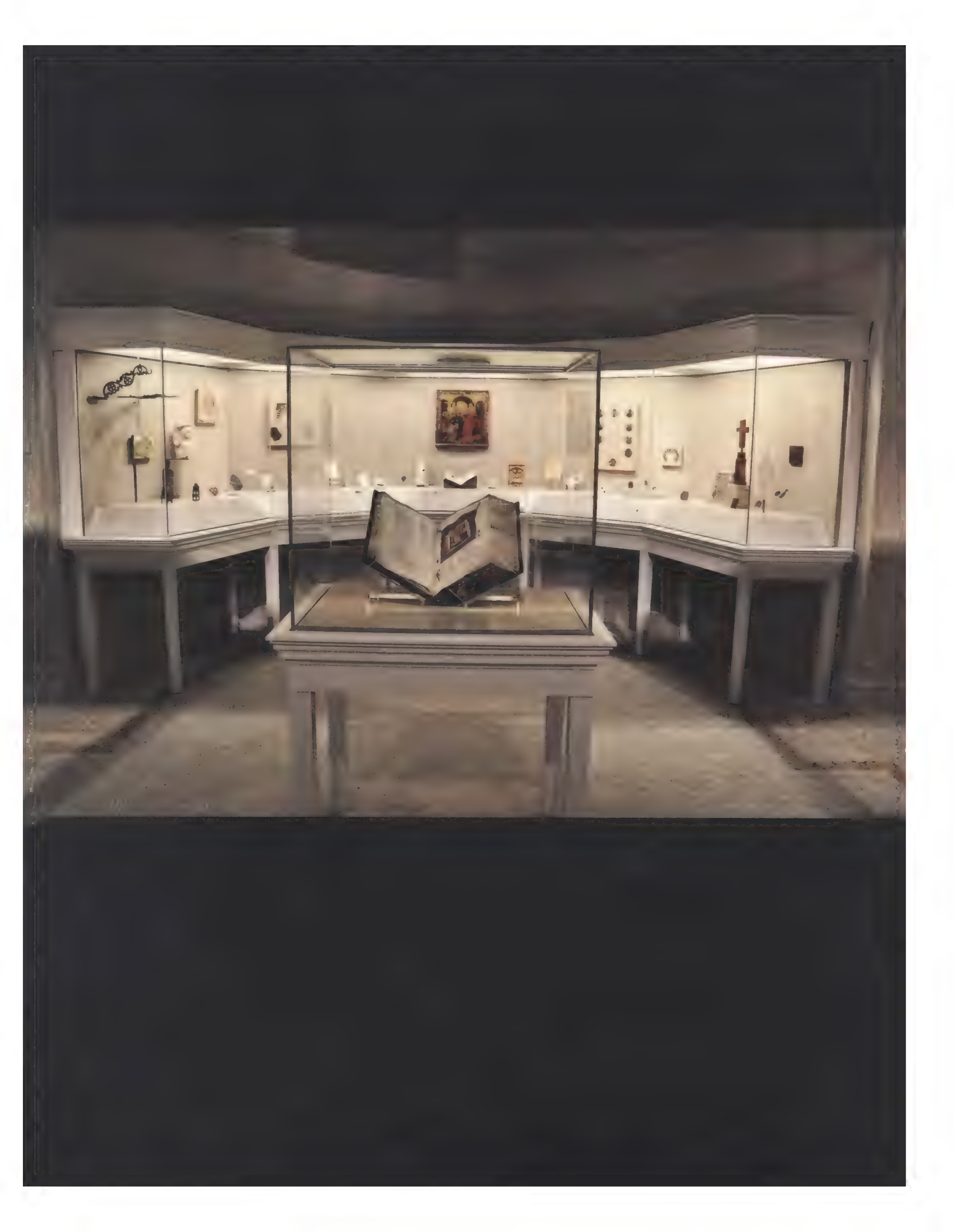
The final lectionary to be mentioned in this context is the codex Dujčev 157, in the Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, at Saint Clement of Ohrid University, Sofia (Bulgaria). It has a small image of Saint Symeon atop his column (a little like Vatopedi Ms. 3*) in the headpiece for September 1.[13] A study of the manuscript by the Bulgarian scholar Axinia Dzhurova is in preparation.

Explanations for Difference

Having drawn attention to the numerous differences in the planning and organization of the illustrations in the Jaharis Lectionary and its relatives, despite the near identity of their texts (examined in "Reconstructing Use"), and certain elements of their style and iconography (discussed in "Exploring Manufacture"), we are under an obligation to propose an explanation for this seemingly inconsistent situation. We have noted how frequently the lectionaries differ from the published Typikon of the Great Church. This may be because they postdate the putative period of the Typikon's composition by a century or more. The first point to emphasize about the lectionaries, therefore, is that there is no reason to hypothesize a single lost model, in the form of an archetypal illustrated Gospel lectionary, from which the surviving manuscripts all descend as more or less inaccurate copies. The differences between the surviving books are too great to support such a hypothesis. This is an important deduction, because it might be thought that liturgical books, in particular, would have been produced to certain norms in order to ensure the consistency of liturgical celebration. But as regards these lectionaries, and their decoration in particular, this cannot have been the case. Starting from the same observation, it also follows that it is highly unlikely that there was a single principal workshop to which was entrusted the making of numerous such books. The single-workshop model, dignified perhaps by the term "patriarchal (or imperial) scriptorium," or "ergasterion" in the more cautious formula of Irmgard Hutter, would presumably have led to the production of books consistent in both text and illustration, not disparate ones. The reason for this is at least in part that the underlying argument is circular. The construct "scriptorium/ergasterion/workshop" is conjured into life to explain how things come to look similar. Things are found to look similar because they are the products of the same workshop. The "workshop" is thus both construct and product.

So what explanation can be offered for the variety we have noted? The most likely explanation is that these books were the products of a range of specialist individual craftsmen. Such craftsmen probably worked in independent shops, rather than in formally organized "scriptoria." They probably would have seen one another's work, and exchanged ideas. Faced with the commission for a patriarchal lectionary they would have been encouraged by their clients to produce books of lavish and to a considerable extent standardized appearance: standard size, layout, scripts, style of minor decoration. But when it came to images, the craftsmen displayed a surprising degree of unpredictability. Such was their skill in disguising the novelty of what they did (as discussed above), that even modern scholars have generally failed to observe the extraordinary extent of the variety of their work. To be sure, the illustration of these books looks traditional and seems to have avoided novelty, yet it was in fact often strikingly original.

When it came to its decoration, the Jaharis Lectionary was made by design to be a book unlike any other.



EPILOGUE

In the end, it is appropriate to ask why the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary is important. Many biblical manuscripts are older, and many are more accurate. Even among copies of the lectionary text, there are manuscripts that are more lavishly executed (such as those written entirely in gold), more profusely illustrated (as we have seen), or more precisely dated or localized. Yet those features that might seem to count against the book can be turned to its advantage. The very limitations of the Jaharis Lectionary—in the small number of its images, for example—allow us to focus more closely on it and, as a result, to advance our knowledge of the book and its relatives substantially. Future general studies of Byzantine art, I suggest, will need to take account of the Jaharis manuscript, and so too will detailed studies of Byzantine liturgy, of Hagia Sophia, of the patriarch of Constantinople, and of the patriarchate. In particular, we will see whether further research will confirm the observation that the Jaharis Lectionary and its relatives form pairs in their menologion texts. From this perspective New York is especially fortunate, for after nine hundred years the Jaharis manuscript has ended up only a few city blocks from its textual twin, manuscript M. 639, currently in the Morgan Library and Museum.

This book that you hold is thus a kind of bridge to link you, the reader, to another book, which few people over the centuries have had the privilege of handling or reading but which many will now see. The condition of most of the pages of the Jaharis Lectionary (notably their lack of dripped candle wax or—with a few exceptions—signs of wear and tear) and the fact that the errors and oversights in its menologion were never corrected (or seemingly even noted) are clear signs that this was a book whose fate, *pace* Terentianus Maurus, depended not on its readers but on its viewers. It is, I have argued, a book that was intended for display, to be carried in procession, kissed, censed, set on an altar, even perhaps placed on the throne of the patriarch. And at all times, by its beauty and splendor, it was meant to glorify God and to bring divine favor to those who commissioned it, paid for it, made it, and used it. Exhibited in its case in the Metropolitan Museum, the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary is no longer the recipient of active devotion, yet it still communicates to the viewer a powerful sense of awe and wonder.

Opposite: Fig. 101. The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary on display in the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries for Byzantine Art

APPENDIXES
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APPENDIX 1

Commemorations and rubrics of the Menologion of the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary compared with five other patriarchal/Hagia Sophia books

This is not a diplomatic edition of the text of the various menologia. It is intended solely as a guide and reference to assist in making comparisons between these and other manuscripts (see, for example, the pattern exemplified by the commemorations for September 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 16, etc.). Commemorations singled out for special attention, as indicated by the inclusion of additional liturgical indications (see above, table 6) are highlighted in bold. The calendrical entries have often been severely curtailed and/or simplified, and the Gospel references have been omitted. Certain words are abbreviated here, as is the usual procedure in the manuscripts: for example, αγ(ιος), οσ(ιος), "holy/saint." "Constantinople" is abbreviated as CP (ΚΠ in the manuscripts). And some have not been translated. Some of the more narrative entries, such as that for September 1, have been rendered in a more literary fashion. This reflects what is different and unusual in the original. Note also that the scribe of Jaharis is a poor speller.

	New York, Metropolitan Museum Jaharis Lectionary	*Venice, Istituto Ellenico cod. gr. 2*	*Cambridge UL Dd. 8.23*	
	New York, Morgan Library Ms. M. 639	*Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T inf. 2.7*	*Paris gr. 286*	
		(Both follow Jaharis & Morgan unless noted)	*(Both follow Jaharis & Morgan unless noted)*	
Sept. 1	Αρχη της ινδικτου κ. μνημη του οσ. πατρος ημων Συμεων του Στυλιτου και του μεγαλου εμπρησμου. Γινεται δε και συναξις της υπεραγιας Θεοτοκου εν τοις Χαλκοπρατειοις υπερ Μιασινων και εν μεν τω Φορω και εις την λειτουργιαν της Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας αναγινωσκεται ευαγγελιον... [*At end*] Εν δε τοις Χαλκοπρατειοις αναγινωσκεται ευαγγελιον...			Beginning of the indiction and commemoration of our holy father Simeon the Stylite, and of the great fire. The service of the all-holy Mother of God takes place in the Chalkoprateia on behalf of Miasenoi, and also in the Forum, and in the liturgy of the Great Church is read the Gospel... In the Chalkoprateia is read the Gospel...
Sept. 2	αγ. μαρτ. Μαμαντος, αγγ. πατριαρχ. Ιωαννου του Νηστευτου κ. Παυλου του Νεου			Mamas martyr, Patriarchs John the Faster and Paul the Younger
Sept. 3	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ανθιμου επισκ. Νικομηδειας	[*Both add*] οσ. Θεοκτιστου	[*Both add*] οσ. Θεοκτιστου	Anthimos bishop of Nikomedia (Theoktistos)
Sept. 4	Αθλησις του αγ. ιερομαρτ. Βαβυλα κ. νηπιων, αγ. μαρτ. Ερμιονης θυγατρος αγ. Φιλιππου απ., αγ. προφ. Μωσεως του θεοπτου		[*Both lack*] Ερμιονης θυγατρος αγ. Φιλιππου απ., αγ. προφ. Μωσεως του θεοπτου	Babylas martyr and children, Hermione martyr daughter of Philip apostle, Moses prophet who saw God
Sept. 5	αγ. προφ. Ζαχαριου πατρος τ. Προδρομου			Zacharias prophet father of the Prodromos [John the Baptist]
Sept. 6	αρχηστρατηγου Μιχαηλ, αγ. Κυριλλου επισκ. Γορτυνης, αγ. μαρτ. Ευδοξιου κ. συν			Michael archangel, Cyril bishop of Gortyna, Eudoxios martyr and those with him

Sept. 7	αγ. μαρτ. Σωζοντος, οσ. Δανιηλ ηγουμενου τ. Θασιου		[*Both lack*] Δανιηλ ηγουμενου τ. Θασιου	Sozon martyr, Daniel abbot of Thasos
Sept. 8	**Γενεσιον τ. υπεραγ. Θεοτοκου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Birth of the Theotokos**
Sept. 9	αγγ. κ. δικαιων Ιωακειμ κ. Αννης			Joachim and Anna
Sept. 10	Προσκυνησις τ. Τιμιων Ξυλων, αγγ. μαρτ. Μηνοδωρας Μητροδωρας κ. Νυμφοδωρας, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Βαριψαβα	[*Both read*] [οσ. ιερομαρτ. Βαριψαβα]	[*Both lack*] Βαριψαβα	Adoration of the Holy Wood, Menadora Metrodora and Nymphodora martyrs, and Baripsabbas martyr
Sept. 11	Προσκυνησις τ. Τιμιων Ξυλων, οσ. Θεοδωρας			Adoration of the Holy Wood, Theodora
Sept. 12	Προσκυνησις τ. Τιμιων Ξυλων, αγγ. μαρτ. Αυτονομου κ. Κουρνουτου, αγ. μαρτ. Ιουλιανου τ. εν Αγκυρα		[*Both lack*] Ιουλιανου τ. εν Αγκυρα	Adoration of the Holy Wood, Autonomos and Kournoutos martyrs, Julian of Ancyra martyr
Sept. 13	Προσκυνησις τ. Τιμιων Ξυλων, Εγκαινια τ. αγ. ΧΥ τ. ΘΥ Αναστασεος, αγ. Κορνηλιου τ. Εκατονταρχου			Adoration of the Holy Wood, dedication of the church of Christ's resurrection, Cornelius the centurion
	Σαββατον προ τ. Υψωσεως			Saturday before the Elevation (of the Holy Cross)
	Κυριακη προ τ. Υψωσεως			Sunday before the Elevation (of the Holy Cross)
Sept. 14	**Υψωσις τ. Τιμιου Σταυρου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια].** [*M. 639 has Crucifixion initial*]			**Elevation of the Holy Cross**
	Σαββατον μετα τ. Υψωσιν			Saturday after the Elevation
	Κυριακη μετα τ. Υψωσιν, αγ. Συμεων τ. συγγενου τ. ΚΥ, επιτελει δε η Μεγαλη Εκκλησια τ. αυτη Κυριακη κ. τ. μνημην τ. ς' Συνοδου			Sunday after the Elevation, Simeon kinsman of the Lord, the Great Church also celebrates on this Sunday the commemoration of the Sixth Synod
Sept. 15	αγγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Νικητα κ. Ακακιου, τ. αγ. πατερων τ. εν τ. ς' Συνοδω			Niketas and Akakios martyrs, the Holy Fathers of the Sixth Synod
Sept. 16	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Ευφημιας, μεγ. μαρτ. Αγαθοκλειας [*M. 639 omits 2nd* μεγ.]	[*Both omit*] *2nd* μεγ.	[*Both lack*] Αγαθοκλειας	Euphemia martyr, Agathokleia martyr
Sept. 17	αγγ. μαρτ. Σοφιας Πιστεως Ελπιδος κ. Αγαπης, αγγ. μαρτ. Ευλαμπιου Πανταλεωντος κτλ.	[*Both reorder*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ευλαμπιου Πανταλεωντος κτλ, αγγ. μαρτ. Σοφιας Πιστεως Ελπιδος κ. Αγαπης	[*Both reorder*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ευλαμπιου Πανταλεωντος κτλ, αγγ. μαρτ. Σοφιας Πιστεως Ελπιδος κ. Αγαπης	Sophia Pistis Elpis and Agape martyrs, Eulampios Pantaleon etc. martyrs
Sept. 18	αγ. Ευμενιου επισκ. Γορτυνης, οσ. μαρτ. Σωσαννης		[*Both reorder*] Ος. μαρτ. Σωσαννης, αγ. Ευμενιου επισκ. Γορτυνης	Eumenios bishop of Gortyna, Susanna martyr
Sept. 19	αγγ. μαρτ. Τροφιμου Σαββατιου κ. Δορυμεδοντος			Trophimos Sabbatios and Dorymedon martyrs

Sept. 20	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Ευσταθιου κ. συν. [*M. 639*] αγγ. κ. καλλινικων τ. ΧΥ μαρτ. Ευσταθιου κ. Θεοπιστης και τ. τεκνων αυτων Αγαπιου κ. Θεοπιστου	*As Jaharis*	*As Jaharis*	Eustathios martyr and those with him (Theopiste and their children Agapios and Theopistos)
Sept. 21	υπεραγ. Θεοτοκου εν τ. Πετρα, αγ. απ. Κοδρατου τ. εν Μαγνησια			(church of) the Theotokos in Petra, Kodratos apostle in Magnesia
Sept. 22	αγ. προφ. Ιωνα, κ. Ιωνα πρεσβυτερου πατρος Θεοφανους τ. Ποιητου, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Φωκα			Jonah prophet, Jonah priest father of Theophanes poet, Phokas martyr
Sept. 23	Συλληψις τ. αγ. Ιωαννου προφ. Προδρομου κ. Βαπτιστου			Conception of John prophet Prodromos and Baptist
Sept. 24	αγ. πρωτομαρτ. Θεκλας			Thekla martyr
Sept. 25	Η λιτη τ. Καμπου δια τ. τρισαγιον εν μεν τ. Τριβουναλιω λεγεται ευαγγελιον κατα Λουκαν τ. Δ' τ. Ε' εβδ. Λκ. Εις δε την λειτουργιαν κατω εν τω ναω του Θεολογου αναγινωσκεται ευαγγελιον Δ' τ. ς' εβδ. Λκ. Αγ. Παφνουτιου οσ. Ευφροσυνης, αγγ. μαρτ. Σαβινιανου Παυλου κ. Ταττης, αγ. Θεοφιλου επισκ. Εφεσου	...Θεολογου αναγινωσκεται ευαγγελιον κατα Ματθ. Αιτειτε και δοθησεται υμον [Mt 7:7]. Μαλλον δε κατα Λουκαν τ. Δ' τ. ς' εβδ τ. Λουκα ποτε δε λεγεται το γεγραμμενον τη επαυριον τουτεστι το της μνημης του Θεολογου. αγ. Παφνουτιου...	?	[In] the processional liturgy of the Kampos during the trisagion in the Tribunal is read the Gospel according to Luke, the Wednesday of the 5th week of Luke. In the liturgy in the church of the Theologos is read the gospel of the Wednesday of the 6th week of Luke (...in the church of the Theologos is read the gospel according to Matthew "Ask and it shall be given you" or rather that according to Luke, the Wednesday of the 6th week of Luke, when the text in question is read on the morrow, that is to say on the commemoration of the Theologos.) Paphnoutios Euphrosyne, Sabinianos Paul and Tatta martyrs, Theophilos bishop of Ephesos
Sept. 26	Μεταστασις τ. αγ. απ. κ. ευαγγ. Ιωαννου τ. Θεολογου			Removal [death] of John apostle and evangelist Theologos
Sept. 27	αγ. μαρτ. Καλλιστρατου κ. συν, αγ. μαρτ. Επιχαρεως			Kallistratos martyr and those with him, Epichares martyr
Sept. 28	οσ. ομολογ. Χαριτωνος			Chariton confessor
Sept. 29	οσ. Κυριακου τ. Αναχωρητου			Kyriakos the anchorite
Sept. 30	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Γρηγοριου τ. μεγαλης Αρμενιας, αγγ. μαρτ. Ριψιμιας κ. Γαιανης κ. συν		[*Both lack*] Ριψιμιας κ. Γαιανης κ. συν	Gregory martyr of greater Armenia, Ripsimia and Gaiane martyrs and those with them
Oct. 1	αγ. απ. κ. μαρτ. Ανανιου, οσ. Ρωμανου τ. μελωδου	[*Both add*] αγ. μαρτ. Δομνινου κ. συν	[*Both add*] αγ. μαρτ. Δομνινου κ. Συν	Ananias apostle and martyr, Romanos the Melode (Domninos martyr and those with him)

Oct. 2	αγγ. ιερομαρτ. Κυπριανου κ. Ιουστινης			Kyprianos and Justina martyrs
Oct. 3	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Διονυσιου τ. Αρεοπαγιτου			Dionysios Areopagite martyr
Oct. 4	αγγ. Ιεροθεου κ. Πετρου ιερομαρτ.			Hierotheos and Peter martyrs
Oct. 5	αγγ. μαρτ. Χαριτινης κ. Μαμελχθας			Charitine and Mamelchtha martyrs
Oct. 6	αγ. απ. Θωμα			Thomas apostle
Oct. 7	αγγ. μαρτ. Σεργιου κ. Βακχου	[*Both add*] οσ. Νικητα τ. μονομαχου		Sergios and Bakchos martyrs (Niketas *monomachos*)
Oct. 8	οσ. Πελαγιας			Pelagia
Oct. 9	αγ. απ. Ιακωβου τ. Αλφαιου			James Alphaios apostle
Oct. 10	αγγ. μαρτ. Ευλαμπιου κ. Ευλαμπιας	[*Both add*] οσ. Βασιανου		Eulampios and Eulampia martyrs (Basianos)
Oct. 11	αγ. απ. Φιλιππου ενος τ. Ζ' διακονων, οσ. ομολογητ. Θεοφανου του ποιητου τ. κανονων, αγγ. Πατριαρχ. Νεκταριου Αρσακιου Αττικιου κ. ΣιΣιννιου, αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Ζηναιδος κ. τ. αγ. Θεοφανους τ. Βασιλισσης	[*Both lack*] Ζηναιδος κ. τ. αγ. Θεοφανους τ. βασιλισσης [*see Oct. 12*]	[*Paris. gr. 286 lacks*] Θεοφανου του ποιητου τ. κανονων, αγ. Θεοφανους τ. βασιλισσης [*see Oct. 12*] [*CUL Dd. 8.23 lacks*] Θεοφανου του ποιητου τ. κανονων, αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Ζηναιδος κ. τ. αγ. Θεοφανους τ. βασιλισσης [*see Oct. 12*]	Philip apostle, one of the seven deacons, Theophanes confessor poet of the canons, Nektarios Arsakios Attikios and Sisinnios patriarchs, Zinais martyr and Theophanou empress
Oct. 12	Μεγαλη Εκκλησια επιτελει τ. μνημν τ. Ζ' συνοδος εν ημερα Κυριακη...αγγ. μαρτ. Ταραχου Προβου κ. Ανδρονικου	[*Both add after* Κυριακη] αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Ζηναιδος κ. τ. αγ. Θεοφανους τ. βασιλισσης	[*Paris. gr. 286 adds after* Κυριακη] αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Ζηναιδος κ. τ. αγ. Θεοφανους τ. βασιλισσης. [*CUL Dd. 8.23 adds after* Κυριακη] αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Ζηναιδος	In the Great Church is celebrated the Seventh Synod on Sunday..., Tarachos Probos and Andronikos martyrs (Zinais martyr and Theophanou empress)
Oct. 13	αγγ. μαρτ. Καρπου κ. Παπυλου			Karpos and Papylos martyrs
Oct. 14	[*Jaharis lacks saints for Oct. 14, puts Oct.14 saints in Oct. 15. M. 639 has*] αγγ. Μαρτ. Ναζαριου Γερβασιου Προτασιου κ. Κελσιου	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	(Nazarios Gerbasios Protasios and Kelsios)
Oct. 15	[*Jaharis has*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ναζαριου Γερβασιου Προτασιου κ. Κελσιου [*misplaced from Oct. 14. M. 639 has*] αγ. ιερομαρτ. Λουκιανου	*As M. 639.* [*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Σαρβηλου κ. Βαβιας	*As M. 639*	Nazarios Gerbasios Protasios and Kelsios (Loukianos martyr) (Sarbelos and Babia martyrs)
Oct. 16	αγ. μαρτ. Λογγινου τ. Εκατονταρχου, οσ. Θαυματ. Μαλου		[*Both lack*] οσ. θαυματ. Μαλου	Longinos centurion, Malos wonderworker
Oct. 17	αγ. προφ. Οσηε, αγγ. μαρτ. Ισιδωρου κ. Νεοφυτου	[*Both reorder*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ισιδωρου κ. Νεοφυτου, αγ. προφ. Οσηε [*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Κοσμα κ. Δαμιανου κ. συν		Hosea prophet, Isidore and Neophytos martyrs (Kosmas and Damianos martyrs and those with him)
Oct. 18	αγ. απ. κ. ευαγγ. Λουκα			Luke apostle and evangelist
Oct. 19	αγ. προφ. Ιωηλ, αγ. μαρτ. Ουαρου κ. συν	[*Both add*] αγγ. Ιεραρχ. Μνασωνος κ. Μοδεστου *after* Ιωηλ	[*Both add*] αγγ. ιεραρχ Μνασωνος κ. Μοδεστου *after* Ιωηλ	Joel prophet, Ouaros martyr and those with him (Mnason and Modestos)

Oct. 20	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Αρτεμιου, οσ. μαρτ. Ανδρεου τ. Κρισεως			Artemios martyr, Andrew of Krise martyr
Oct. 21	οσ. Ιλαριωνος			Hilarion
Oct. 22	**αγ. Αβερκιου επισκ. Ιεραπολεως [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Aberkios bishop of Heirapolis**
Oct. 23	αγ. απ. Ιακωβου τ. αδελφου ΘΥ, αγ. Ιγνατιου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ, αγγ. Ζ' Παιδων τ. εν Εφεσω	[*Both add*] αγ. μαρτ. Θεοδοτης κ. τεκνων		James apostle brother of the Lord, Ignatios patriarch of CP, Seven Children in Ephesus (Theodote and children)
Oct. 24	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Αρεθα κ. συν			Arethas martyr and those with him
Oct. 25	αγγ. νοταριων Μαρκιανου κ. Μαρτυριου, αγ. μαρτ. Αναστασιου τ. εν Σαλωναις			Markianos and Martyrios notaries, Anastasios martyr of Salona
Oct. 26	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Δημητριου κ. μνημη τ. Μεγαλου Σεισμου			Demetrios martyr, commemoration of the Great Earthquake
Oct. 27	αγγ. μαρτ. Νεστορος κ. Αρτεμιδωρου			Nestor and Artemidoros martyrs
Oct. 28	αγγ. μαρτ. Τερεντιου Νεονιλλης κ. τεκνων	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Στεφανου Πετρου Ανδρεου	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Στεφανου Πετρου Ανδρεου. [*CUL Dd. 8.23 also adds at start*] αγγ. αναργ. Κοσμα κ. Δαμιανου [*cf. Nov. 1*]	Terentios Neonilla martyrs and their children (Stephanos Petros Andreas martyrs) (Kosmas and Damianos anargyroi)
Oct. 29	αγ. Αβραμιου αγ. Αναστασιας τ. Ρωμαιας			Abramios, Anastasia of Rome
Oct. 30	αγγ. μαρτ. Ζηνοβιου κ. Ζηνοβιας	[*Both add*] Κυριακου αρχιεπ. ΚΠ	[*Both add*] Κυριακου αρχιεπ. ΚΠ	Zenobios and Zenobia martyrs (Kyriakos archbishop of CP)
Oct. 31	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Μαρκιανου επισκ. Συρακουσης, αγ. μαρτ. Επιμαχου, αγγ. απ. Σταχυος Αμπλια Αριστοβουλου κ. συν	[*Both add*] Τα εγκαινια του ευκτηριου της υπεραγιας Θεοτοκου του εν τω Πατριαρχειω εν ω αποκειται και η τιμια κεφαλη του εν αγιοις πατρος υμων Αβερκιου	[*Both add*] Τα εγκαινια του ευκτηριου της υπεραγιας Θεοτοκου του εν τω Πατριαρχειω εν ω αποκειται και η τιμια κεφαλη του εν αγιοις πατρος υμων Αβερκιου	Markianos martyr bishop of Syracuse, Epimachos martyr, Staches Amplias Aristoboulos apostles and those with them. (Consecration of the chapel of the Theotokos in the Patriarchate in which is deposited the precious head of our father among the saints Aberkios)
Nov. 1	αγγ. αναργ Κοσμα κ. Δαμιανου. [*M. 639 reads*] θαυματουργων αναργ.			Kosmas and Damianos anargyroi (wonderworking anargyroi)
Nov. 2	αγγ. μαρτ. Ακινδυνου Πηγασιου Ανεμποδιστου Αφθονιου κ. Ελπιδιφορου		[*Both reorder*] Αφθονιου Ελπιδιφορου κ. Ανεμποδιστου	Akyndinos Pegasios Anempodistos Aphthonios and Elpidiphoros martyrs
Nov. 3	αγγ. μαρτ. Ακεψιμα Ιωσηφ κ. Αειθαλα, οσ. Ιωαννικιου			Akepsimas Ioseph and Aeithalas martyrs, Ioannikios
Nov. 4	αγγ. μαρτ. Νικανδρου κ. Ερμαιου, αγ. μαρτ. Θεοδοτης	[*Both add*] τ. υπεραγ. Θεοτοκος εν τοις Κυρου		Nikandros and Ermaios martyrs, Theodote martyr (Dedication [of the church] of the Theotokos in Kyrou [in CP])

Nov. 5	αγγ. μαρτ. Γαλακτιωνος κ. Επιστημης	[*Both insert before*] Γαλακτιωνος -- τα εγκαινια τ. αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρος εν τοις Σφορακιου	[*Both insert before*] Γαλακτιωνος -- τα εγκαινια τ. αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρος εν τοις Σφορακιου	Galaktion and Episteme martyrs (Dedication [of the church] of the martyr Theodore in Sphorakiou [in CP])
	Κυριακη προ τ. ς' τ. Νοεμ...αγ. Παυλου τ. ομολογ. τελουμε εν τ. Μεγ. Εκκλησ. εν ημερα Κυριακη κατα τ. τυπικον τ. Μεγ. Εκκλησιας αναγινωσκ. ευαγγελιον...εις λητη υπερ τ. μνημης τ. Κονεως. [*M 639 reads*] Ηγουν προ τ. μνημης τ. αγ. Παυλου τ. ομολογ. τελουμε εν τη Μεγαλη Εκκλησια κατα τ. τυπον τ. Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας ανιγινωσκεται ευαγγελιον ... Εις τ. λιτην υπερ τ. μνημην της Κωνεος	Κυριακη προ τ. ς' τ. Νοεμ...εις τ. μνημην τ. κονεως...προ τ. μνημην τ. αγ. Παυλου τ. ομολογητου τελουμε εν τ. μεγ. Εκκλ. εν ημερα Κυριακη, και απλως ο ειδως τον τυπον τ. Εκκλ. νοιετω αναγινωσκεται... Το αυτο αναγινωσκεται κ. τ. ς' τ. αυτου μηνος εις τ. λιτην υπερ τ. μνημς τ. κονεως	[*Close to Venice IE 2 and Auct. T inf. 2.7*]	On the Sunday before the 6th of the month of November, namely before the commemoration of Saint Paul the confessor, there takes place in the Great Church on the Sunday according to the rite of the Great Church a reading from the gospel of the rich man: see the 5th Sunday of Luke; the same is read also on the 6th of the same month in a processional liturgy in memory of the rain of cinders
Nov. 6	αγ. Παυλου τ. Ομολογ.			Paul confessor
Nov. 7	αγγ. ΛΓ' μαρτ. τ. εν Μελιτενη, οσ. Ματρωνας	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Αυκτου Ταυριωνος Θεσσαλονικης *before* Ματρωνας	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ευστολιας Αυκτου Ταυριωνος Θεσσαλονικης *after* Ματρωνας	33 martyrs of Melitene, Matrona (Auktos, Taurion martyrs of Thessalonike) (Eustolia martyr)
Nov. 8	**Συναξις τ. Αρχαγγελων [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Celebration of the Archangels**
Nov. 9	αγγ. μαρτ. Ονησιφορου κ. Πορφυριου, οσ. Ευστολιας			Onesiphoros and Porphyrios martyrs, Eustolia
Nov. 10	οσ. Νειλου, αγ. μαρτ. Ορεστου	[*Both reorder*] Ορεστου Νειλου	[*Both reorder*] Ορεστου Νειλου	Neilos, Orestes martyr
Nov. 11	αγγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Μηνα Βικτωρος κ. οσ. ομολογ. Θεοδωρου ηγουμενου τ. Στουδιου	[*Both add*] Βικεντιου *after* Βικτωρος, [*Both omit*] μεγ	[*Both add*] Βικεντιου *after* Βικτωρος, [*Both omit*] μεγ	Menas and Victor martyrs, Theodore abbot of Stoudios confessor (Vikentios)
Nov. 12	αγ. Ιωαννου τ. Ελεημονος, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Αρτεμωνος	[*Both add*] Μαρτινιανου επ. πολεως Τορονικης	[*Both add*] Μαρτινιανου επ. πολεως Τορονικης	John the Almsgiver, Artemon martyr (Martinianos bishop of the city of Toronike)
Nov. 13	**αγ. Ιωαννου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ τ. Χρυσοστομου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**John Chrysostomos archbishop of CP**
Nov. 14	αγ. απ. Φιλιππου, Ιουστινιανου κ. Θεοδωρας βασιλεων			Philip apostle, Justinian and Theodora emperors
Nov. 15	αγγ. ομολογ. Σαμονα Γουρια κ. Αβιβα	[*Both reorder*] Γουρια Σαμονα Αβιβα		Samonas Gourias and Abibas confessors
Nov. 16	αγ. απ. κ. ευαγγ. Ματθαιου, αγ. μαρτ. Βαρλααμ			Matthew apostle and evangelist, Barlaam martyr
Nov. 17	αγ. Γρηγοριου του θαυματουργου			Gregorios wonderworker
Nov. 18	αγγ. μαρτ. Πλατωνος κ. Ρωμανου			Platon and Romanos martyrs
Nov. 19	αγ. μαρτ. Δασιου κ. συν, αγ. προφ. Αβδιου			Dasios martyr and those with him, Abdias [Obadiah] prophet
Nov. 20	αγγ. πατριαρχ. Προκλου Μαξιμου Ανατολιου κ. Γενναδιου			Proklos Maximos Anatolios and Gennadios patriarchs

Nov. 21	**Αγια τ. Αγιων [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		*[Both lack]* προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Holy of Holies** [Dedication of the Theotokos in the temple]
Nov. 22	αγ. απ. Φιλημωνος, αγ. μαρτ. Κικιλιας			Philemon apostle. Kikilia martyr
Nov. 23	αγ. Αμφιλοχιου, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Σιστννιου		*[Both add]* αγ. Πετρου Καπετωλεων	Amphilochios, Sisinnios martyr (Petros of Kapetoleon)
Nov. 24	αγ. Γρηγοριου τ. Ακραγαντινου			Gregory of Agrigento
Nov. 25	αγγ. ιερομαρτ. Κλημεντος Ρωμης κ. Πετρου Αλεξανδρειας, αγ. μαρτ. Μερκουριου, αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Κατερηνης			Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria martyrs, Merkourios martyr, Katerina martyr
Nov. 26	οσσ. Αλυπιου τ. Κιονιτου κ. Ακακιου τ. τ. Κλιμακου			Alypios of the column [stylite] and Akakios of the ladder
Nov. 27	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Ιακωβου τ. Περσου			James the Persian martyr
Nov. 28	αγ. μαρτ. Ειρηναρχου, αγ. μαρτ. Στεφανου τ. Νεου			Eirenarchos martyr and Stephen the Younger martyr
Nov. 29	αγ. απ. Σιλα, αγ. μαρτ. Παραμονου			Silas apostle, Paramonos martyr
Nov. 30	αγ. απ. Ανδρεου			Andrew apostle
Dec. 1	αγ. προφ. Ναουμ	*[Both add]* Τα εγκαινια τ. ναου τ. Παλατιου	*[Both add]* Τα εγκαινια τ. ναου τ. Παλατιου	Nahum prophet (Dedication of the church of the palace [in CP])
Dec. 2	αγ. προφ. Αμβακουμ, δικαιου Φιλαρετου τ. ελεημονος τ. Παφλαγονων χωρας. *[M. 639 adds]* ορμωμενου	*[Both rephrase]* ...ελεημονος τ. ορμωμενου απο τ. Παφλαγονων χωρας	*[Both lack]* δικαιου Φιλαρετου...	Habakkuk prophet, Philaretos the Almsgiver of the land of the Paphlagonians
Dec. 3	αγ. προφ. Σοφονιου, αγγ. μαρτ. Ινδι κ. Δομνας κ. συν δισμυριων			Sophonias [Zephaniah] prophet, Indes and Domna martyrs and the 20,000 with them
Dec. 4	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Βαρβαρας, οσ. Ιωαννου τ. Δαμασκηνου			Barbara martyr, John Damaskenos
Dec. 5	οσ. Σαβα			Sabas
Dec. 6	αγ. Νικολαου			Nikolaos
Dec. 7	οσ. Αμβροσιου			Ambrosios
Dec. 8	οσ. Πατατιου			Patapios
Dec. 9	Συλληψις τ. αγ. Αννης			Conception of Anna
Dec. 10	αγγ. μαρτ. Μηνα Ερμογενους Ευγραφου			Menas Hermogenes Eugraphos martyrs
Dec. 11	οσ. Δανιηλ τ. στυλιτου			Daniel stylite
Dec. 12	οσ. Σπυριδωνος	*[Both add]* Επινικια κατα Περσων	*[Both add]* Επινικια κατα Περσων	Spyridon (Victory over the Persians)
Dec. 13	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Ευστρατιου κ. συν			Eustratios martyr and those with him
Dec. 14	αγ. μαρτ. Θυρσου κ. συν	*[Both add]* μεγαλου σεισμου	*[Both add]* μεγαλου σεισμου	Thyrsos martyr and those with him (Great earthquake)

Dec. 15	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ελευθεριου			Eleutherios martyr
Dec. 16	αγ. προφ. Αγγαιου, αγγ. μαρτ. Μαρινου κ. Βακχου τ. Νεου	[*Both add*] οσ. Νικολαου αρχιεπ. ΚΠ	[*Both add*] οσ. Νικολαου αρχιεπ. ΚΠ	Haggai prophet, Marinos and Bakchos the Younger martyrs (Nikolaos archbishop CP)
Dec. 17	αγ. Γ Παιδων κ. Δανιηλ τ. προφ.	[*Both add*] Ιωαννου αρχιεπ. Σαρδεων	[*Both add*] Ιωαννου αρχιεπ Σαρδεων	Three children and Daniel prophet (John archbishop of Sardis)
Dec. 18	αγγ. μαρτ. Αθηνοδωρου Φιλετερου Ευβιωτου, αγ. μαρτ. Σεβαστιανου κ. συνοδ.	[*Both add*] Τα εγκαινια τ. Χαλκοπρατειου	[*Both start with*] Τα εγκαινια τ. Χαλκοπρατειου	Athenodoros Phileteros Eubiotos martyrs, Sebastianos martyr and companions (Dedication [of the church] of the Chalkoprateia [in CP])
Dec. 19	αγ. μαρτ. Βονηφατιου	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Προμου Αρεως κτλ	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Προμου Αρεως κτλ	Bonephatios [Boniface] (Promos Ares martyrs etc.)
Dec. 20	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ιγνατιου τ. Θεοφορου			Ignatios *theophoros* martyr
Dec. 21	αγ. μαρτ. Ιουλιανης			Iouliane martyr
Dec. 22	αγ. μαρτ. Αναστασιας, Ανοιξια τ. Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας.			Anastasia martyr, opening of the Great Church
Dec. 23	Εγκαινια τ. Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας, αγγ. Ι' μαρτ. τ. εν Κρητη			Dedication of the Great Church, 10 Martyrs of Crete
	Σαββατον προ τ. ΧΥ γεννησεως... ουκ αναγινωσκεται δε εν ορδινως ει μη αρτι προ τ. ΧΥ γεννησεως ως ειρηται [*initial E in place of B*]			On the Saturday before the Birth of Christ [lection]... is not read according to the order if it is not immediately before the Birth of Christ as is stated
	Δεον γινωσκειν οτι εαν η εορτη τ. αγ. ΧΥ γεννησεως εν Κυριακη φθαση επειδη το οπισθεν Σαββατον κ. η Κυριακη το προ τ. ΧΥ γεννησεως Σαββατοκυριακον εστι κ. εχει τα ιδια ευαγγελια. Τοδε τ. παραμονας Σαββατον ευαγγελιον δειται αναγινωσκεται τουτο εις τ. λειτουργιαν	[*Both add at start*] Κυριακη προ τ. ΧΥ γεννησεως τ. αγγ. Πατερων. Δεον...	[*Text abbreviated*]	(Sunday before Christ's birth, from the holy fathers) It must be known that if the feast of Christ's birth falls on a Sunday, seeing that the preceding Saturday and Sunday (the preceding weekend) have the same Gospels, then the Gospel of the vigil of Saturday should be read in the liturgy
Dec. 24	Παραμονη τ. αγ. ΧΥ γεννησεως, αγ. μαρτ. Ευγενιας			Vigil of Christ's birth, Eugenia martyr
Dec. 25	**αγ. ΧΥ τ. ΘΥ γεννησεως [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια].** [*M. 639 has a miniature of the Nativity*]		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Birth of Christ God**
Dec. 26	Συναξις εις τ. επιλοχεια τ. υπεραγ. Θεοτοκου			Service of the lying-in of the Theotokos
	Σαββατων μετα τ. ΧΥ γεννησιν			Saturday after Christ's birth
	Κυριακη μετα τ. ΧΥ γεννησιν...			Sunday after Christ's birth
Dec. 27	αγ. πρωτομαρτ. κ. αρχιδιακονου Στεφανου, μεθεορτα τ. ΧΥ γεννησεως ηγουν απο τ. ΚΗ' μεχρη τ. ΛΑ'...			Stephen archdeacon and protomartyr, *metheorta* of Christ's birth, that is to say from the 28th to the 31st [of December]

Dec. 28	Μεθεορτον τ. ΧΥ γεννησεως, αγ. Δισμυριων, οσ. Θεοδωρου τ. Γραπτου			*Metheorton* of Christ's birth, the Holy 20,000 [martyrs of Nikomedia], Theodoros *graptos*
Dec. 29	Μεθεορτον αγγ. Νηπιων, οσ. Μαρκελλου			*Metheorton*, Holy Children [Innocents], Markellos
Dec. 30	Μεθεορτον, αγ. μαρτ. Ανυσιας			*Metheorton*, Anysia martyr
Dec. 31	Μεθεορτον, οσ. Μελανης τ. Ρωμαιας, οσ. Ζωτικου τ. Ορφανοτροφου			*Metheorton*, Melane of Rome, Zotikos carer for orphans
Jan. 1	Περιτομη τ. ΚΥ ΙΥ ΧΥ, οσ. Βασιλειου			Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, Basil
Jan. 2	Προεορτιον τ. Φωτων, αγ. Σιλβεστρου παπα Ρωμης			*Proeortion* of divine lights [Theophany / Epiphany], Sylvester pope of Rome
Jan. 3	Προεορτιον τ. Φωτων, αγ. μαρτ. Γορδιου, αγ. προφ. Μαλαχιου			*Proeortion* of divine lights, Gordios martyr, Malachi prophet
Jan. 4	Προεορτιον τ. Φωτων, αγγ. Ο' αποστολων, οσ. Παυλου τ. Θεβαιου	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ζοσιμου κ. Αθανασιου [*before*] Παυλου	[*Both add*] αγγ. Μαρτ. Ζοσιμου κ. Αθανασιου [*before*] Παυλου	*Proeortion* of divine lights, 70 apostles, Paul of Thebes (Zosimos and Athanasios martyrs)
	Σαββατον προ τ. Φωτων			Saturday before divine lights
	Κυριακη προ τ. Φωτων			Sunday before divine lights
Jan. 5	Παραμονη τ. αγγ. Θεοφανιων, αγ. Γρηγοριου τ. εν τ. Ακριτα			Vigil of divine Theophanies, Gregory of Akritas
Jan. 6	**αγ. Θεοφανεια [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια].** [*M. 639 has Baptism miniature*]		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Theophany**
Jan. 7	Συναξις τ. Αγ. Ιωαννου τ. Προφ. Προδρομου κ. Βαπτιστου. [*M. 639 has historiated initial of Saint John Baptist*]			Service of John prophet Prodromos and Baptist
	Σαββατον μετα τ. Φωτα			Saturday after divine lights
	Κυριακη μετα τ. Φωτα			Sunday after divine lights
Jan. 8	Μεθεορτον τ. Φωτων, αγγ. μαρτ. Ιουλιανου κ. Βασιλισσης, αγ. Δομνικας			*Metheorton* of divine lights, Ioulianos and Basilissa martyrs, Domnika
Jan. 9	Μεθεορτον τ. Φωτων, αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Πολυευκτου, Σεισμου			*Metheorton* of divine lights, Polyeuktos martyr, Earthquake
Jan. 10	Μεθεορτον τ. Φωτων, αγγ. Γρηγοριου Νυσης κ. Δομετιανου Μελιτινης, οσσ. Μαρκιανου κ. Ιωαννου τ. Κατασαβα	[*Both add*] οσ. Ευστρατιου ηγουμενου μονης τ. Αγαυρου *after* Μελιτινης	[*Both add*] οσ. Ευστρατιου ηγουμενου μονης τ. Αγαυρου *after* Μελιτινης. [*Both lack*] Ιωαννου τ. Κατασαβα	*Metheorton* of divine lights, Gregory of Nyssa and Dometianos of Melitene, Markianos and John Katasabas (Eustratios abbot of the monastery of Agavros)
Jan. 11	Μεθεορτον τ. Φωτων, οσ. Θεοδοσιου τ. Κοινοβιαρχου			*Metheorton* of divine lights, Theodosios the *koinobiarch*
Jan. 12	Μεθεορτον τ. Φωτων, οσ. Στεφανου τ. Χινολακκου, αγ. μαρτ. Τατιανης			*Metheorton* of divine lights, Stephen of Chinolakkos, Tatiana martyr

Jan. 13	Μεθεορτον τ. Φωτων, αγγ. μαρτ. Ερμυλου κ. Στρατονικου			*Metheorton* of divine lights, Ermylos and Stratonikos martyrs
Jan. 14	αγγ. Αβαδων			Abbots
Jan. 15	οσσ. Παυλου τ. Θεβαιου κ. Ιωαννου τ. Καλυβιτου, αγ. Πανσοφιου			Paul of Thebes and John of the cell [*kalybites*], Pansophios
Jan. 16	Προσκυνησις τ. τιμιου αλυσεως τ. αγ. απ. Πετρου, αγγ. μαρτ. Σπευσιππου Ελασιππου κ. Βελεσιππου			Adoration of the precious chain of Apostle Peter, Speusippos Elasippos and Belesippos martyrs
Jan. 17	οσ. Αντωνιου			Antony
Jan. 18	οσσ. Αθανασιου κ. Κυριλλου			Athanasios and Cyril
Jan. 19	οσσ. Μακαριου τ. Αιγυπτιου κ. Θεοδοτου Αγκυρας			Makarios of Egypt and Theodotos of Ancyra
Jan. 20	οσ. Ευθυμιου			Euthymios
Jan. 21	οσ. Μαξιμου τ. ομολογ, αγ. μαρτ. Νεοφυτου			Maximos confessor, Neophytos martyr
Jan. 22	αγ. απ. Τιμοθεου, αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Αναστασιου τ. Περσου	[*Venice IE 2 omits*] αγ. απ. Τιμοθεου		Timothy apostle, Anastasios of Persia martyr
Jan. 23	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Κλημεντος τ. Αγκυρας κ. Αγαθαγγελου			Clement of Ancyra martyr, and Agathangelos
Jan. 24	οσ. Χενης, αγ. μαρτ. Βικεντιου			Xene, Vikentios martyr
Jan. 25	**αγ. Γρηγοριου τ. Θεολογου [ορθρος λειτουργια]**			**Gregory Theologos**
Jan. 26	οσ. Ξενοφωντου κ. συνοδ.	[*Both add*] σεισμου	[*Both add*] σεισμου	Xenophon and companions (Earthquake)
Jan. 27	Επανοδος. τ. λειψανου τ. αγ. Ιωαννου τ. Χρυσοστομου			Return of the relics of John Chrysostomos
Jan. 28	οσ. Εφραιμ τ. Συρου			Ephraim of Syria
Jan. 29	Επανοδος τ. λειψανων τ. αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ιγνατιου Θεοφορου			Return of the relics of Ignatios *theophoros* martyr
Jan. 30	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ιππολυτου			Hippolytos martyr
Jan. 31	αγγ. κ. θαυματουργων αναργυρων Κυρου κ. Ιωαννου			Kyros and John wonderworkers and anargyroi
Feb. 1	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Τρυφωνος			Tryphon martyr
Feb. 2	**Υπαπαντη τ. ΚΥ ΙΥ ΧΥ [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια].** [M. *639 has miniature of Presentation in the Temple*]		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Purification of Christ**
Feb. 3	αγ. κ. δικαιου Συμεων τ. Θεοδοχου κ. Αννης		[*Both add*] Νικητα ηγουμενου τ. Μηδικιου [*see Feb. 4, Apr. 3*]	Symeon and Anna (Niketas abbot of Medikiou)
Feb. 4	αγ. Ισιδωρου τ. Πηλουσιωτου, οσ. Νικητα τ. εν τ. Πυθιοις		[*Both lack*] Νικητα [*see Feb. 3, Apr. 3*]	Isidore *pelousiotes* Niketas of Pythia
Feb. 5	αγ. μαρτ. Αγαθης, Πολυευκτου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ			Agatha martyr, Polyeuktos patriarch of CP

Feb. 6	αγ. Βουκολου επισκ. Σμυρνης	[*Both add*] αγ. μαρτ. Φαυστας, Φωτιου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ	[*Both add*] αγ. μαρτ. Φαυστας, Φωτιου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ	Boukolos bishop of Smyrna (Phausta martyr, Photios patriarch of CP)
Feb. 7	αγ. Παρθενιου επισκ. Λαμψακου, αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρου τ. Στρατηλατου			Parthenios bishop of Lampsakos, Theodore *stratelates* martyr
Feb. 8	αγ. προφ. Ζαχαριου εν. τ. Ις'			Zacharias prophet, one of the sixteen
Feb. 9	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Νικηφορου, αγ. Φιλαγριου επισκ. Κυπρου			Nikephoros martyr, Philagrios bishop of Cyprus
Feb. 10	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Χαραλαμπου			Charalampos martyr
Feb. 11	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Βλασιου			Blasios martyr
Feb. 12	αγγ. πατριαρχ. Μελετιου τ. Αντιοχειας κ. Αντωνιου ΚΠ			Meletios patriarch of Antioch and Antonios patriarch of CP
Feb. 13	οσ. Μαρτινιανου			Martinianos
Feb. 14	οσ. Αυξεντιου			Auxentios
Feb. 15	αγ. απ. Ονησιμου			Onesimos apostle
Feb. 16	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Παμφιλου κ. συνοδ.			Pamphilos martyr and companions
Feb. 17	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρου τ. Τυρωνος, αγ. Μαριαμνης αδελφης τ. αγ. Φιλιππου τ. απ.		[*Both lack*] αγ. Μαριαμνης αδελφης τ. αγ. Φιλιππου τ. απ.	Theodore Tyro martyr, Mariamne Sister of Philip apostle
Feb. 18	αγγ. Λεοντος Ρωμης κ. Φλαβιανου ΚΠ, αγ. θαυματουργου Αγαπητου επισκ. Συναου			Leo of Rome and Phlabianos of CP, Agapetos bishop of Synaos the wonderworker
Feb. 19	αγγ. μαρτ. Μαξιμου Θεοδοτου Ασκληπιοδοτης, κ. αγ. μαρτ. Σαδωθ επισκ. κ. συν, οσ. Αυξηβιου επισκ. Σολωνος τ. Κυπρου			Maximos Theodotos Asklepiodote martyrs, Sadoth martyr bishop and those with him, Auxebios bishop of Solia in Cyprus
Feb. 20	οσ. Παφνουτιου, αγ. απ. Αρχιππου μαθητου αγ. απ. Παυλου, αγ. Λεωντος επισκ. Κατανης			Paphnoutios, Archippos apostle disciple of Paul, Leon bishop of Catania
Feb. 21	αγ. Ευσταθιου Αντιοχειας, οσ. Τιμοθεου τ. εν Συμβολοις			Eustathios of Antioch, Timothy of Symbola
Feb. 22	οσ. Θωμα πατριαρχ. ΚΠ, κ. Προτεριου Αλεξανδρου, ευρεσις τ. λειψανων τ. αγγ. μαρτ. εν τ. Ευγενιου			Thomas patriarch of CP and Proterios of Alexandria, discovery of the relics of the martyrs of Eugeniou [in CP]
Feb. 23	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Πολυκαρπου			Polykarpos martyr
Feb. 24	**Ευρεσις τ. Τιμιας Κεφαλης τ. Προδρομου [ορθρος λειτουργια]**			**Discovery of the head of the Prodromos**
Feb. 25	αγ. Ταρασιου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Μαρκελλου			Tarasios archbishop of CP, Markellos martyr
Feb. 26	αγγ. Πορφυριου επισκ. Γαζης κ. Μακαριου Ιεροσολυμων			Porphyrios bishop of Gaza and Makarios [bishop] of Jerusalem
Feb. 27	οσ. ομολογ. Προκοπιου τ. Δεκαπολιτου			Prokopios confessor of Dekapolis
Feb. 28	αγ. ομολογ. Βασιλειου			Basil confessor

Feb. 29	αγγ. μαρτ. Παπια Διοδωρου κ. Κλαυδιανου			Papias Diodoros and Klaudianos martyrs
Mar. 1	οσ. μαρτ. Ευδοκιας			Eudokia martyr
Mar. 2	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Θεοδοτου επισκ. Κυρηνιας			Theodotos bishop of Kyrenia
Mar. 3	αγγ. μαρτ. Ευτροπιου Κλεονικου κ. Βασιλισκου			Eutropios Kleonikos and Basiliskos martyrs
Mar. 4	αγγ. μαρτ. Παυλου κ. Ιουλιανης αυταδελφων			Paul and Iouliane his sister martyrs
Mar. 5	αγγ. μαρτ. Κονωνος κ. Ησυχιου πρεσβ. Ιεροσολυμων			Konon and Hesychios martyrs priests of Jerusalem
Mar. 6	αγγ. ΜΒ' μαρτ. εν τ. Αμωριω			42 Martyrs of Amorion
Mar. 7	αγγ. Ζ' εν Χερσωνι επισκοπησαντων Βασιλεως Εφραιμ Καπητωνος κτλ			Seven acting as bishops in Cherson Basil Ephraim Kapeton etc.
Mar. 8	αγ. Θεοφυλακτου επισκ. Νικομεδειας τ. ομολογ			Theophylaktos bishop of Nikomedeia confessor
Mar. 9	αγγ. Μ' μαρτ. τ. εν Σεβαστεια			Forty martyrs of Sebasteia
Mar. 10	αγ. μαρτ. Κοδρατου τ. εν Κορινθου		[*Both add*] κ. Πιονιου [*see Mar. 15*]	Kodratos martyr of Corinth (Pionios)
Mar. 11	αγ. Σοφρονιου αρχιεπισκ. Ιεροσολυμων			Sophronios archbishop of Jerusalem
Mar. 12	οσ. Θεοφανους τ. Ομολογ.			Theophanes confessor
Mar. 13	Ανακομιδη τ. λειψανου τ. αγ. Νικηφορου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ, αγ. μαρτ. Σαβινου κ. συνοδ			Deposition of the relics of Nikephoros archbishop of CP. Sabinos martyr and companions
Mar. 14	αγ. μαρτ. Αλεξανδρου τ. εν Πυδνη			Alexander of Pydna martyr
Mar. 15	αγ. Ιωαννου τ. εν Ρουφινιαναις, οσ. Βενεδικτου επισκ. Ρωμης, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Πιονιου, αγγ. μαρτ. Νικοδημου κ. Χριστινης			John of Rouphinianai [in CP], Benedict bishop of Rome, Pionios martyr, Nikodemos and Christina martyrs
Mar. 16	αγγ. μαρτ. Τροφιμου κ. Θαλλου			Trophimos and Thallos martyrs
Mar. 17	ανθρωπου τ. ΘΥ Αλεξιου, Αναστασις Λαζαρου τ. φιλου τ. ΧΥ	[*Both add*] Αναμνησις του σεισμου	[*Both add*] Αναμνησις του σεισμου	Alexios "man of God," Resurrection of Lazaros Christ's friend (Commemoration of earthquake)
Mar. 18	αγ. Κυριλλου αρχιεπισκ. Ιεροσολυμων			Cyril archbishop of Jerusalem
Mar. 19	αγγ. μαρτ. Χρυσανθου κ. Δαρειας			Chrysanthos and Dareia martyrs
Mar. 20	οσσ. πατερων ανερεθεντων εν τ. μονη τ. οσ. Σαβα, οσ. Μαλχονος [*for* Μαλχου]			Fathers killed in the monastery of Saint Sabas, Malchos
Mar. 21	οσ. Ιακωβου επισκ., οσ. Ανανιου, μαρτ. Αρτεμωνος			James bishop, Ananias, Artemon martyr

Mar. 22	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Βασιλειου κ. Θωμα επισκ.		*[Both reorder]* Βασιλειου πρεσβ. κ. Θωμα διακ.	Basil martyr and Thomas bishop (Basil priest and Thomas deacon)
Mar. 23	οσ. μαρτ. Νικωνος κ. τ. Σ' μαθητων, αγ. μαρτ. Χριστινης τ. Περσινης			Nikon martyr and his 200 disciples, Christina martyr of Persia
Mar. 24	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Αρτεμωνος			Artemon martyr
Mar. 25	**Ευαγγελισμος τ. υπεραγ. δεσποινης Θεοτοκου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια].** *[M. 639 has miniature of the Annunciation]*		*[Both lack]* προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Annunciation of Theotokos**
Mar. 26	Αρχιστρατηγου Γαβριηλ, οσ. Ισακιου			Archangel Gabriel, Isakios
Mar. 27	αγ. Ματρωνης τ. εν Θεσαλωνικη			Matrona of Thessalonike
Mar. 28	οσ. θαυματουργου Ιλαριωνος, αγ. μαρτ. Φιλιτου κ. συν			Hilarion the wonderworker, Philetos martyr and those with him
Mar. 29	οσ. Ιωαννου Ιεροσολυμων, οσ. Ευσταθιου επισκ. Βιθυνιας			John of Jerusalem, Eustathios bishop of Bithynia
Mar. 30	οσ. Ιωαννου τ. συγγραφεως τ. Κλιμακος			John writer of the Ladder (*Klimakos*)
Mar. 31	αγγ. μαρτ. Μενανδρου κ. Νεοφυτου			Menandros and Neophytos martyrs
Apr. 1	οσ. Μαριας της Αιγυπτιας			Mary of Egypt
Apr. 2	αγ. μαρτ. Επιφανιου Αιδεσιου κ. συν, οσ. πατρ. θαυματουργου Τιτου			Epiphanios Aidesios martyrs and those with them, Titos wonderworker
Apr. 3	οσ. Νικητα ηγουμενου του Μηδικιου		*[Both read]* ...ηγουμενου εν τ. Πυθιοις *[see Feb. 3/4]*	Niketas abbot of Medikiou (abbot of Pythia)
Apr. 4	αγ. μαρτ. Θεοδουλου κ. Αγαθαποδος, οσ. Ιωσηφ του υμνογραφου			Theodoulos and Agathapous martyrs, Ioseph hymnographer
Apr. 5	οσ. Γεωργιου του εν τω Μαλαιων, αγ. μαρτ. Υπομονης			George of Malaion Hypomene martyr,
Apr. 6	αγ. Ευτυχιου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ. *[M. 639 adds]* αγγ. ΡΚ' [120] μαρτ. εν Περσιδι	*[Both add]* αγγ. ΡΚ' [120] μαρτ. εν Περσιδι	*[Both add]* αγγ. ΡΚ' [120] μαρτ. εν Περσιδι	Eutychios archbishop of CP (120 martyrs in Persia)
Apr. 7	αγ. Γεωργιου επισκ. Μιτυλινης, αγ. μαρτ. Ειρηνης Αγαπης κ. Χιονιας, αγ. μαρτ. Ρουφινου διακ. κ. Ακυλινης κτλ		*[Paris gr. 286 lacks]* Αγαπης. *[CUL Dd. 8.23 lacks]* Ειρηνης Αγαπης κ. Χιονιας	George bishop of Mitylene, Eirene Agape and Chionia martyrs, Rouphinos deacon martyr and Akylina etc.
Apr. 8	αγγ. απ. Ηρωδιωνος Αγαβου Ρουφου Φλεγοντος κ. Επαφρα, αγ. Κελεστινου παπα Ρωμης			Herodion Agabos Rouphos Phlegon and Epaphre apostles, Celestine pope of Rome
Apr. 9	οσσ. Πατερμουθιου κ. Κοπρη, αγ. μαρτ. Ευψυχιου			Patermouthios and Kopres, Eupsychios martyr
Apr. 10	αγ. μαρτ. Τερεντιου κ. συν			Terence martyr and those with him
Apr. 11	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Αντιπα			Antipas martyr

Apr. 12	οσ. κ. ομολ. Βασιλειου επισκ. Παρειου, Γεροντιου μαρτ., Σεργιου πατρ	[*Both add*] τ. απο τ. μονης τ. Μανουηλ	[*Both add*] τ. απο τ. μονης τ. Μανουηλ	Basil confessor bishop of Pareion, Gerontios martyr, Sergios patriarch (of the monastery of Manuel)
Apr. 13	αγ. μαρτ. Κρισκεντος κ. Θεοδοσιου [*for Apr. 13, plus*], αγ. μαρτ. Παυσιλυπου, αγγ. Ιακωβου κ. Συμεων επισκ. Αντιοχειας κ. συν [*from Apr. 14, omits*] αγ. Αρισταρχου Πουδη κ. Τροφιμου. [*M. 639 has*] αγ. μαρτ. Κρισκεντος κ. Θεοδοσιου	[*As M. 639, and both add*] οσ. ομολογ. Μαρτινου παπα Ρωμης	[*As M. 639, and both add*] οσ. ομολογ. Μαρτινου παπα Ρωμης	Kriskes martyr and Theodosios, Pausilypos martyr, James and Symeon bishop of Antioch and those with them, Aristarchos Poudes and Trophimos. (Martin confessor pope of Rome)
Apr. 14	αγγ. μαρτ. Σαβα του Γοτθου, Λεονιδου, Νικοδημου κ. συν [*from Apr. 15*] [*M. 639 has*] αγγ. απ. Αρισταρχου Πουδη κ. Τροφιμου, αγ. Παυσιλυπιου, αγ. Ιακωβου τ. κ. Συμεων επισκ. Αντιοχειας κ. συν	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Sabbas the Goth, Leonides Nikodemos martyrs and those with them (Aristarchos Poudes and Trophimos, Pausilypos martyr, James and Symeon bishop of Antioch and those with them)
Apr. 15	οσ. Κοσμα Χαλκηδονος κ. Αγαπιου παπα Ρωμης [*omits Apr. 16*] αγ. Ακακαιου επισκ. Μελιτηνης, [*misplaces Apr. 17 here*] [*M. 639 has*] αγγ. μαρτ. Σαβα τ. Γοτθου Λεωνιδου Νικοδημου κ. συν	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Kosmas of Chalcedon and Agapios pope of Rome Akakios bishop of Melitene (Sabbas the Goth, Leonides Nikodemos martyrs and those with them)
Apr. 16	οσ. Ιωαννου του Παλαιολαβριτου, αγγ. μαρτ. Ιακωβου κ. Αζα διακονου [*misplaces Apr. 18 here*] [*M. 639 has*] αγ. Ακακαιου επισκ. Μελιτηνης	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	John *Palaiolavrites*, James martyr and Aza deacon (Akakios bishop of Melitene)
Apr. 17	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρου του εν Περγη της Παμφυλιας, αγγ. μαρτ. Λογγινου του Ισαυρου κ. Αφροδισιου [*misplaces Apr. 19 here*] [*M. 639 has*] οσ. Κοσμα Χαλκηδονος κ. Αγαπιου παπα Ρωμης	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Theodore of Perge in Pamphylia martyr, Longinos the Isaurian and Aphrodisios martyrs (Kosmas of Chalcedon and Agapios pope of Rome)
Apr. 18	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Παφνουτιου [*misplaces Apr. 20 here*] [*M. 639 has*] οσ. Ιωαννου του Παλαιολαβριτου, αγγ. μαρτ. Ιακωβου κ. Αζα διακονου	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Paphnoutios martyr (John *Palaiolavritos*, James martyr and Aza deacon)
Apr. 19	οσ. Θεοδωρου του Τριχινα, αγ. Ιαννουαριου κ. συν [*misplaces Apr. 21 here*] [*M. 639 has*] αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρου του εν Περγη της Παμφυλιας, αγγ. μαρτ. Λογγινου του Ισαυρου κ. Αφροδισιου	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Theodore Trichinas, Iannouarios and those with them (Theodore of Perge in Pamphylia martyr, Longinos the Isaurian and Aphrodisios martyrs)
Apr. 20	[*Lacking in Jaharis*] [*M. 639 has*] αγ. ιερομαρτ. Παφνουτιου	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	(Paphnoutios martyr)

Apr. 21	[*Lacking in Jaharis*] [*M. 639 has*] οσ. Θεοδωρου του Τριχινα, αγ. Ιαννουαριου κ. συν	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	(Theodore Trichinas, Iannouarios and those with them)
Apr. 22	οσ. Θεοδωρου επισκ. Θεοδοσιουπωλεος της Σικιωτου			Theodore the Sykeote bishop of Theodosioupolis
Apr. 23	μεγ. μαρτ. Γεωργιου			George martyr
Apr. 24	αγγ. μαρτ. εν Χαλκηδονι μαρτυρησαντων, αγ. μαρτ. Σαβα του στρατηλατου			Martyrs in Chalkedon, Sabbas *stratelates* martyr
Apr. 25	αγ. απ. κ. ευαγγ. Μαρκου			Mark apostle and evangelist
Apr. 26	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Βασιλειου επισκ. Αμασιας			Basil bishop of Amaseia martyr
Apr. 27	αγ. Συμεων Ιεροσολυμων τ. συγγενους του Κυριου, αγγ. μαρτ. Κυντιανου, Μαξιμου κ. Δαδα			Symeon of Jerusalem kinsman of the Lord, Kyntianos Maximos and Dadas martyrs
Apr. 28	αγ. απ. Ιασονος, αγγ. μαρτ. Ζηνωνος κ. Ευσεβιου			Iason apostle, Zenon and Eusebios martyrs
Apr. 29	αγ. μαρτ. Μεμνονος κ. ΚΒ' μαρτυρων, κ. Θ' μαρτυρων των εν Κυζικω			Memnon and 22 martyrs, 9 martyrs in Kyzikos
Apr. 30	αγ. απ. Ιακωβου αδελφου του Θεολογου			James apostle brother of [John] the Theologos
May 1	αγ. προφ. Ιερεμιου	[*Both add*] τα εγκαινια τ. Νεας βασιλικης εκκλησιας	[*Both add*] τα εγκαινια τ. Νεας βασιλικης εκκλησιας	Jeremiah prophet (Dedication of the Nea [New] imperial church)
May 2	αγ. Αθανασιου αρχιεπισκ. Αλεξανδρειας			Athanasios archbishop of Alexandria
May 3	αγγ. μαρτ. Εσπεριου κ. Ζωης κ. των τεκνων Κυριακου κ. Θεοδουλου, αγγ. μαρτ. Τιμοθεου κ. Μαυρας, αγ. μαρτ. Σεβαστιανης			Esperios and Zoe martyrs and their children Kyriakos and Theodoulos, Timothy and Mavra martyrs, Sebastiane martyr
May 4	αγ. μαρτ. Ειρηνης, αγ. μαρτ. Αφροδισιου κτλ			Eirene martyr, Aphrodisios martyr etc.
May 5	αγ. μαρτ. Πελαγιας της παρθενου			Pelagia the virgin martyr
May 6	αγ. κ. δικαιου Ιωβ			Job the righteous
May 7	Μνημη του εν τω ουρανω φανεντος του Τιμιου Σταυρου, αγ. μαρτ. Ακακιου			Commemoration of the heavenly appearance of the Holy Cross, Akakios martyr
May 8	αγ. απ. ευαγγ. Ιωαννου του θεολογου, οσ. Αρσενιου			John the Theologos apostle evangelist, Arsenios
May 9	αγ. προφ. Ησαιου, αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Χριστοφορου			Isaiah prophet, Christopher martyr
May 10	αγ. απ. Σιμωνος του Ζηλωτου			Simon *zelotes*

May 11	αγγ. ιερομαρτ. Μωκιου κ. Παχωμιου, γενεθλιον της πολεως τουτο αναγινωσκεται εν τω Φορω απερχομενης της λιτης... Εν δε τη μεγαλη εκκλησια υποστρεφουσης της λιτης και τελουμενης της λειτουργιας αναγινωσκεται τουτο... Το αυτο κ. τ. Κυριακης εν η επιτελουμεν τ. ενωσιν της εκκλησιας Ιουλιου μηνος			Mokios and Pachomios martyrs. On this day, the birthday of the city [of CP], this [Gospel] is read in the Forum on the arrival of the liturgical procession… In the Great Church on the return of the procession and in performing the liturgy is read… On the same Sunday is celebrated the union of the church in July [see celebration before July 15]
May 12	αγγ. Γερμανου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ, Επιφανιου αρχιεπισκ. Κυπρου			Germanos archbishop of CP, Epiphanios archbishop of Cyprus
May 13	αγ. μαρτ. Αλεξανδρου, αγ. μαρτ. Γλυκεριας			Alexander martyr, Glykeria martyr
May 14	αγ. μαρτ. Ισιδωρου			Isidore martyr
May 15	οσσ. Παχωμιου κ. Θεοδωρου ηγιασμενου, οσ. Αχιλλειου επισκ. Λαρισσης, αγ. Αλεξανδρου Ιεροσολυμων, Νικολαου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ τ. εν Γαλακρινες		*[Both lack]* οσ. Αχιλλειου επισκ. Λαρισσης	Pachomios and Theodore the consecrated, Achilleios bishop of Larissa, Alexander of Jerusalem, Nicholas patriarch of CP of Galakrenai
May 16	αγ. προφ. Ζαχαριου εν Ις'			Zacharias prophet, one of the sixteen
May 17	αγγ. απ. Ανδρονικου κ. Σολωνος			Andronikos and Solon (Solochon) apostles
May 18	αγγ. μαρτ. Πετρου Διονυσιου Φιλεταιρου κ. συν			Peter Dionysios and Philetairos martyrs and those with them
May 19	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Πατρικιου κ. συν			Patrikios martyr and those with him
May 20	αγ. μαρτ. Θαλελαιου			Thalelaios martyr
May 21	αγγ. βασιλεων Κωνσταντινου κ. Ελενης			Constantine and Helena emperors
May 22	αγ. μαρτ. Βασιλισκου κ. συνοδ.			Basiliskos martyr and companions
May 23	οσ. Μιχαηλ επισκ. Συναδων κ. συγγελου, αγ. μαρτ. Μελετιου του στρατηλατου			Michael bishop of Synada and *synkellos*, Meletios *stratelates* martyr
May 24	οσ. Συμεων εν τω θαυμαστω ορη			Symeon of the miraculous mountain
May 25	Τριτη ευρησις της τιμιας κεφαλης του Προδρομου			Third discovery of the precious head of the Prodromos [John the Baptist]
May 26	αγ. απ. Ιουδα			Jude apostle
May 27	αγ. απ. Καρπιου εν τω Ο', αγ. μαρτ. Θεραποντος	*[Both add]* Στεφανου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ		Karpios one of the 70 apostles, Therapon martyr (Stephen patriarch of CP)
May 28	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ελλαδιου, αγ. μαρτ. Κρισκεντος κ. Νικητα επισκ. Χαλκηδονος			Helladios martyr, Kriskes martyr and Niketas bishop of Chalcedon
May 29	αγ. μαρτ. Θεοδοσιας			Theodosia martyr

May 30	οσ. Ισακιου τ. Δαλματου	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ευφημιας Ευσεβιου κ. Ρωμανου	[*Both add*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ευφημιας Ευσεβιου κ. Ρωμανου	Isaak of Dalmatou [in CP] (Euphymia Eusebios and Romanos martyrs)
May 31	αγ. μαρτ. Ερμιου, Ευσταθιου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ			Hermios martyr, Eustathios patriarch of CP
June 1	αγ. μαρτ. Ιουστινου κ. συν			Justin martyr and those with him
June 2	αγ. Νικηφορου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ			Nikephoros archbishop of CP
June 3	αγ. μαρτ. Λουκιλλιανου κ. συν			Loukillianos martyr and those with him
June 4	αγ. Μητροφανους αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ			Metrophanes archbishop of CP
June 5	αγ. Ευσταθιου αρχιεπισκ. Αντιοχειας. Εις την λιτην του Καμπου δια την επελευσιν των βαρβαρων εν μεν τω Τριβουναλιω λεγεται ευαγγελιον... Εις δε τον ναον του αγ. Βαβυλα αναγινωσκεται τουτο...	[βαρβαρων: *Auct.* Αβαρων]	[*Both lack*] αγ. Ευσταθιου αρχιεπισκ. Αντιοχειας. [*Both add*] αγ. Σεβαστιανης	Eustathios archbishop of Antoich. In the processional liturgy of the Kampos, on account of the attack of the barbarians, and in the Tribunal is read the Gospel… In the church of Saint Babylas this [Gospel] is read… (Sebastiane)
June 6	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Δωροθεου, αγ. Ζηναιδος κ. Μαμελχθης			Dorotheos martyr, Zenais and Mamelchtha
June 7	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Θεοδοτου Αγκυρας			Theodotos of Ancyra martyr
June 8	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Θεοδωρου στρατηλατου, οσ. ομολογητ. Παυλου του Καιουμα			Theodore *stratelates* martyr, Paul of Kaiouma confessor
June 9	αγ. Κυριλλου Αλεξανδρειας, οσ. θαυματ. Υπατιου εν Ρουφινιαναις	[*Both add*] αγ. απ. Φουρτουνατου	[*Both add*] αγ. απ. Φουρτουνατου	Cyril of Alexandria, Hypatios of Rouphinianai [in CP] the wonderworker (Phourtounatos apostle)
June 10	αγ. Τιμοθεου επισκ. Προυσης, αγγ. μαρτ. Αλεξανδρου κ. Αντωνινης			Timothy bishop of Prousa, Alexander and Antony martyrs
June 11	αγγ. απ. Βαρθολομαιου κ. Βαρναβα			Bartholomew and Barnabas apostles
June 12	οσ. Ονουφριου, αγ. μαρτ. Κοδρατου εν Ρυνδακι			Onouphrios, Kodratos in [the river] Ryndax martyr
June 13	αγ. μαρτ. Ακυλινης			Akylina martyr
June 14	αγ. προφ. Ελισσαιου, αγ. Μεθοδιου αρχιεπισκ. ΚΠ			Elisha prophet, Methodios archbishop of CP
June 15	αγ. προφ. Αμως, μαρτ. Δουλα			Amos prophet, Doulas martyr
June 16	αγ. θαυματ. Τυχωνος			Tychon the wonderworker
June 17	αγγ. μαρτ. Μανουηλ Σαβελ κ. Ισμαηλ			Manouel Sabel and Ismael martyrs
June 18	αγ. μαρτ. Λεοντιου κ. συν			Leon martyr and those with him
June 19	αγ. προφ. Ιεζεκιηλ, μαρτ. Ζωσιμου			Ezechiel prophet, Zosimos martyr
June 20	αγ. μαρτ. Ασυγκριτου, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Μεθοδιου επισκ. Παταρων			Asygkritos martyr, Methodios bishop of Patara martyr

June 21	αγ. μαρτ. Ιουλιανου, αγγ. μαρτ. Ιουστου Τροφιμου κ. Θεοφιλου			Ioulianos martyr, Ioustos Trophimos and Theophilos martyrs
June 22	οσ. ομολογ. Ευσεβιου επισκ. Σαμωσατων, οσ. Βασιλειου μερων Πατελαριας		[*Both lack*] Βασιλειου	Eusebios bishop of Samosata confessor, Basil of Patalaria
June 23	αγ. μαρτ. Αγριππινης			Agrippina martyr
June 24	**Γενεσιον τ. αγ. Ιωαννου προφ. Προδρομου κ. Βαπτιστου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Birth of John the prophet Prodromos and Baptist**
June 25	αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Φεβρονιας			Phebronia martyr
June 26	οσ. Δαυιδ Θεσαλωνικης			David of Thessalonike
June 27	οσ. Σαμψων του ξενοδοχου			Samson the host
June 28	Ανακομιδη των λειψανων των αγγ. θαυματ. αναργυρων Κυρου κ. Ιωαννου. αγ. ιερομαρτ. Υπατιου επισκ. Γαγγρων		[*Both lack*] αγ. ιερομαρτ. Υπατιου επισκ. Γαγγρων	Deposition of the relics of the wonderworking anargyroi Kyros and John, Hypatios bishop of Gangra martyr
June 29	**αγγ. κορυφαιων απτ. Πετρου κ. Παυλου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Peter and Paul leaders of the apostles**
June 30	αγγ. Αποστολων ΙΒ'			12 Apostles
July 1	αγγ. αναργ. Κοσμα κ. Δαμιανου			Kosmas and Damianos anargyroi
July 2	καταθεσια τ. τιμιας εσθητος τ. υπεραγ. Θεοτοκου			Deposition of the precious mantle of the Theotokos
July 3	αγγ. μαρτ. Υακινθου Κοιντου Μαρκου κ. Θεοδοτου			Hyakinthos Kointos Mark and Theodotos martyrs
July 4	οσ. Ανδρεου Κριτης, Θεοδοτου Κυρινις, Δονατου Λιβυης			Andrew of Crete, Theodotos of Kyrenia, Donatos of Libya
July 5	οσ. Λαμπαδου, οσ. Μαρθας μητρος οσ. Συμεων τ. Στυλιτου τ. εν τω θαυμαστω ορει. [*M. 639 reads*] ... Στυλιτου του εν τη Μανδρα [*see below July 26*]			Lampados, Martha mother of Symeon the Stylite of the miraculous mountain (Stylite of Mandra)
July 6	αγγ. ιερομαρτ. Αετιου Φιλημονος κ. συν, οσ. Θωμα τ. εν τω Μαλαιω, αγγ. μαρτ. Κυριακης Αγνης Λουκιας κ. Ανθουσης	[*Both reorder*] ...Φιλημονος κ. συν, Κυριακης... Ανθουσης, Θωμα	[*Both add after* Φιλημονος.] Αλεξανδρου, Ρηξου βηκαριου κ. συν. [*CUL Dd. 8.23 lacks*] Θωμα	Aetios Philemon martyrs and those with them, Thomas of Malaion, Kyriake Agnes Loukia and Anthousa martyrs (Alexander, Rixos vicar and those with them)
July 7	αγγ. μαρτ. Ισαυρου Ευσταθιου Πολυκαρπου κ. Ευαγγελου, οσ. Σισοη τ. μεγαλου. [*M. 639 lacks*] Ισαυρου [*see July 9*]			Isauros Eustathios Polykarpos and Evangelos martyrs, Sisoes the great
July 8	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Προκοπιου			Prokopios martyr
July 9	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Παγκρατιου Ταυρομενιτων, αγγ. μαρτ. Ισαυρου Περεγρηνου κ. συν		[*Both lack*] αγγ. μαρτ. Ισαυρου Περεγρηνου κ. συν	Pankratios of Taormena martyr, Isauros Peregrenos martyrs and those with them
July 10	αγγ. ΜΕ' μαρτ. τ. εν Νικοπολει			45 martyrs of Nikopolis

July 11	αγ. μαρτ. Ευφημιας τ. ορου			Euphemia martyr of the definition [of the Synod of Chalcedon]
July 12	αγγ. μαρτ. Προκλου Ιλαριου, αγ. μαρτ. Γολινδουχ			Proklos Ilarios martyrs, Golindouch martyr
July 13	αγ. μαρτ. Σαραπιωνος, οσ. Στεφανου του Σαβαιτου, αγ. Μυρωπης, αγ. Βερονικης τ. αιμορρου [*this part July 13*] αγ. απ. Ακυλα, αγ. Ιωσηφ επισκ. Θεσαλωνικης, μαρτ. Ιουστου [*this part July 14*] [*M. 639 has*] αγ. μαρτ. Σαραπιωνος, οσ. Στεφανου του Σαβαιτου, αγ. Μυρωπης, αγ. Βερονικης τ. αιμορρου	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Sarapion martyr, Stephen the Sabaite, Myrope, Veronica the woman with an issue of blood, Akyla apostle, Joseph bishop of Thessalonike, Ioustos martyr. (Sarapion martyr, Stephen the Sabaite, Myrope, Veronica the woman with an issue of blood)
July 14	αγγ. μαρτ. Κυρου κ. Ιουλιττης [*misplaces July 15*] [M. *639 has*] αγ. απ. Αγκυλα, αγ. Ιωσηφ επισκ. Θεσαλωνικης, μαρτ. Ιουστου	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	Kyros and Ioulitta martyrs (Akyla apostle, Joseph bishop of Thessalonike, Ioustos martyr)
July 15	[*Jaharis lacks July 15*] [*M. 639 has*] αγγ. μαρτ. Κυριακου κ. Ιουλιττης	*As M. 639*	*As M. 639*	(Kyriakos and Ioulitta martyrs)
	Κυριακη προ τ. μνημης τ. Δ' Συνοδου επιτελειται η ενωσις τ. εκκλησιας ... εις το γενεθλιον της πολεως. Κυριακη προ των αλλακτων τ. μνμης των αγγ. ΧΛ' πατερων εν Χαλκιδον [ ] τεταρτου συνοδου... κατα τ. τ. εκκλησιας τυπον...κατα Σευηρου τ. Δυσσεβους			On the Sunday before the commemoration of the Fourth Synod the union of the church is celebrated. And if that Sunday falls between the 6th and the 12th of the month...[followed by lengthy instructions]...for the Gospel see May 11, on the birthday of the city...according to the rite of the [Great] Church... On the Sunday before the commemoration of the 630 fathers of the synod in Chalcedon...according to the rite of the church...under Severos the impious
July 16	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Αθηνογενους κ. συν, αγ. μαρτ. Αντιοχου		[*Both lack*] αγ. μαρτ. Αντιοχου	Athenogenes martyr and those with him, Antiochos martyr
July 17	αγ. μαρτ. Μαρινας			Marina martyr
July 18	αγγ. μαρτ. Αιμιλιανου κ. Υακινθου τ. εν Αμαστριδι, αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Θεοδοσιας μαρτυρησασης υπερ των αγγ. κ. σεπτων εικονων επι του δυσσεβους Κωνσταντινου του Κοπρωνυμου	[*Both add*] Στεφανου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ	[*Both lack*] αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Θεοδοσιας μαρτυρησασης υπερ των αγιων κ. σεπτων εικονων επι του δυσσεβους Κωνσταντινου του Κοπρωνυμου. [*Both add*] Στεφανου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ	Aimilianos and Hyakinthos of Amastris martyrs, Theodosia martyr martyred on account of the holy and venerated icons by the impious [emperor] Constantine ***kopronymos*** (Stephanos patriarch of CP)
July 19	οσ. Διου, αγ. Μακρινας αδελφης τ. μεγ. Βασιλειου			Dios, Makrina sister of Basil the Great
July 20	αγγ. προφ. Ηλιου κ. Ελισσαιου			Elijah and Elisha prophets
July 21	αγ. προφ. Ιεζεκιηλ, οσ. Συμεων τ. δια Χριστον σαλου κ. Ιωαννου			Ezechiel prophet, Symeon the fool for Christ, John

July 22	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Φωτιου [corr. Φωκα], αγ. μυροφορου Μαριας τ. Μαγδαλινης			Photios [Phokas] martyr, Maria Magdalena the *myrophoros* [bearing unguent]
July 23	αγγ. μαρτ. Τροφιμου Θεοφιλου κ. συν, αγγ. ιερομαρτ. Απολιναριου Βιταλιου επισκ. Ραβεννης κ. Απολλωνιου Ρωμης			Trophimos Theophilos martyrs and those with them, Apolinarios Vitalios bishop of Ravenna and Apollonios of Rome martyrs
July 24	αγ. μαρτ. Χριστινης, αγ. Ανατολιου κ. συν			Christina martyr, Anatolios and those with him
July 25	Κοιμησις αγ. Αννης μητρος τ. Θεοτοκου, οσσ. γυναικων Ευπραξιας κ. Ολυμπιαδος			Death of Anna mother of the Theotokos, Eupraxia and Olympias
July 26	οσ. Συμεων τ. εις τ. Μανδρα, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ερμολαου κ. συν.			Symeon of Mandra, Hermolaos martyr and those with him
July 27	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Παντελεημονος			Panteleimon martyr
July 28	αγγ. απ. Προχωρου Νικανωρος Τιμωνος κ. Παρμενα	[*Both add*] αγ. μαρτ. Ευσταθιου τ. εν Αγκυρας		Prochoros Nikanor Timon and Parmenas apostles (Eustathios of Ancyra matryr)
July 29	αγγ. μαρτ. Καλλινικου κ. Θεοδοτου			Kallinikos and Theodotos martyrs
July 30	αγγ. απ. Σιλα κ. Σιλουανου Κρισκεντος Επαινετου κ. Ανδρονικου	[*Both add*] αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Γελασιου	[*Both lack all except*] αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Γελασιου	Silas Silouanos Kriskes Epainetos and Andronikos apostles (Gelasios martyr)
July 31	αγ. μαρτ. Ιωαννου τ. στρατιωτου, οσ. κ. δικαιου Ευδοκιμου, εις τ. προοδον κ. προσκυνησιν τ. Τιμιου Σταυρου			John *stratiotes* martyr, Eudokimos, procession and adoration of the Precious Cross
Aug. 1	αγγ. Μακκαβαιων			Maccabees
Aug. 2	ανακομιδη του λειψανου τ. αγ. πρωτομαρτ. Στεφανου, αγγ. Ζ παιδων τ. εν Εφεσω			Deposition of the relics of Stephen protomartyr, Seven Children of Ephesos
Aug. 3	οσσ. Ισακιου Δαλματου κ. Φαυστου			Isaakios Dalmatos Phaustos
Aug. 4	αγ. οσ. μαρτ. Ευδοκιας			Eudokia martyr
Aug. 5	αγ. μαρτ. Ευσιγνιου, αγ. μαρτ. Ιας	[*Both add*] Ευθυμιου πατριαρχ. ΚΠ		Eusignios martyr, Ia martyr (Euthymios patriarch of CP)
Aug. 6	**Μεταμορφωσις τ. ΙΥ ΧΥ [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Transfiguration of Jesus Christ**
Aug. 7	τ. επαυριον τ. Μεταμορφωσεος μεθεορτον, εις τ. επελευσιν τ. Αβαρων εν Βλαχερναις, οσ. μαρτ. Δομετιου του Περσου			On the morrow of the Transfiguration *metheorton*, on the defeat of the Avars in Blachernae, Dometios of Persia martyr
Aug. 8	οσ. ομολογ. Αιμιλιανου επισκ. Κυζικου, αγγ. μαρτ. Ελευθεριου Λεονιδους κ. Μαρινου τ. Γεροντος			Aimilianos bishop of Kyzikos confessor, Eleutherios Leonides and Marinos the elder martyrs
Aug. 9	αγ. απ. Ματθια			Matthias apostle
Aug. 10	αγ. μαρτ. Λαυρεντιου			Laurentios martyr
Aug. 11	αγ. μαρτ. Ευπλου	[*Venice IE 2 lacks*]		Euplos martyr

Aug. 12	αγγ. μαρτ. Φωτιου κ. Ανικητου			Photios and Aniketos martyrs
Aug. 13	οσ. ομολογ. Μαξιμου, αγγ. μαρτ. Σεργιου Στεφανου Παμφιλου κ. Καπιτωνος		[*CUL Dd. 8.23 lacks*] Σεργιου	Maximos confessor, Sergios Stephen Pamphilos and Kapiton Martyrs (Sergios)
Aug. 14	αγ. ιερομαρτ. Μαρκελλου κ. Ο' μαθητων, αγ. προφ. Μιχαιου			Markellos martyr and 70 disciples, Micah prophet
Aug. 15	**Κοιμησις τ. Θεοτοκου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια].** [*M. 639 has miniature of the Koimesis*]	[*Both add after stoichos*] Τουτο λεγεται παρα των Βλαχερνιτων κληρικων εις Βλαχερνας εις δε τας λοιπας εκκλησιας... Μνησθησομαι του ονοματος σου ...	[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Koimesis [Death] of the Theotokos** (This is read by the clergy of Blachernae at Blachernae and in other churches... "Let your name be remembered...")
Aug. 16	εξ Εδεσσης ανακομιδη τ. αγ. Μαντηλιου, κ. εις τ. επελευσιν τ. Σαρακηνων, αγ. μαρτ. Διομηδου. [*M. 639:*] Η προσκυνησις κ. ευχαριστια της εξ Εδεσσης ανακομισθη θειας κ. αχειροποιητου αγ. εικονου τ. ΚΥ κ. ΘΥ κ. ΣΡΣ ημων ΙΥ ΧΥ τ. αγ. Μαντιλιον εις τ. επελευσιν σαρακηνων, αγ. μαρτ. Διομηδου			Deposition of the holy Mandylion from Edessa, Defeat of the Saracens, Diomedes martyr (Adoration of and thanksgiving for the deposition of the divine not-made-by-human-hands holy icon of Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ the holy *mandylion*...)
Aug. 17	αγγ. μαρτ. Μυρωνος Στρατονικου κ. Παυλου	[*Both add*] οσ. μαρτ. ομολ. Μακαριου τ. επι τ. δυσσεβους Κωνσταντινου κοπρονυμου μαρτυρησαντος		Myron Stratonikos and Paul martyrs (Makarios martyr confessor martyred by the impious Constantine *kopronymos*)
Aug. 18	αγγ. μαρτ. Φλορου κ. Λαυρου			Phloros and Lauros martyrs
Aug. 19	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Ανδρεου τ. στρατηλατου			Andrew *stratelates* martyr
Aug. 20	αγ. απ. Θαδδαιου, αγ. προφ. Σαμουηλ			Thaddaios apostle, Samuel prophet
Aug. 21	αγ. μαρτ. Βασσης κ. τεκνων, αγ. μαρτ. Ιας τ. εν Περσιδι αθλησας			Bassa martyr and children, Ia martyr in Persia
Aug. 22	αγ. μεγ. μαρτ. Αγαθονικου, αγγ. μαρτ. Ειρεναιου Ωρ κ. Οροψεος			Agathonikos martyr, Eirenaios Or and Oropsis martyrs
Aug. 23	αγ. μαρτ. Λουππου			Louppos martyr
Aug. 24	αγ. απ. Βαρθολομαιου, καταβασις τ. λειψανου αυτου εν Σικελια νισω τ. Λιπαρεως, αγ. ιερομαρτ. Ευτυχους μαθητου τ. αγ. Ιωαννου τ. Θεολογου, αγγ. μαρτ. Μεμνωνος Σευηρου κ. Τατιανου		[*Both lack*] καταβασις τ. λειψανου αυτου εν Σικελια νισω τ. Λιπαρεως	Bartholomew apostle, deposition of his relics in the Sicilian island of Lipari, Eutyches martyr disciple of John Theologos, Memnon Severos and Tatianos martyrs
Aug. 25	αγ. απ. Τιτου, τ. αγγ. πατριαρχων ΚΠ Επιφανιου Μηνα κ. Ιωαννου			Titos apostle, Epiphanios Menas and John patriarchs of CP
Aug. 26	αγγ. μαρτ. Αδριανου Ναταλιας κ. συν			Adrianos Natalia martyrs and those with them
Aug. 27	οσ. Λιβεριου παπα Ρωμης, οσ. Κορδουβης			Liberios pope of Rome, Kordoube
Aug. 28	οσσ. Ποιμενος κ. Μωυσεως τ. Αιθιοπος, κ. Σαβα τ. εν Βενεθαλοις			Poimen and Moses of Ethiopia, Sabas of Benethalia(?)
Aug. 29	**αποτομη τ. αγ. Ιωαννου τ. Προδρομου κ. Βαπτιστου [ορθρος προκειμενον στοιχος λειτουργια]**		[*Both lack*] προκειμενον, στοιχος	**Beheading of John the Prodromos and Baptist**

Aug. 30	αγγ. πατριαρχ. ΚΠ Αλεξανδρου Ιωαννου κ. Παυλου τ. Νεου, κ. Φιλονιδου επισκ., οσ. θαυματ. Φαντινου	[*Both insert after* Φιλονιδου] αγγ. μαρτ. Φιλικος Σεπτεμινου Ιαννουαριου κ. συν		Alexander John and Paul the Younger patriarchs of CP, Philonides bishop, Phantinos the wonderworker (Philikos Septeminos Ianouarios martyrs and those with them)
Aug. 31	Καταθεσια τ. τιμιας ζωνης τ. υπεραγ. Θεοτοκου εν τ. Χαλκοπρατειοις	[*Both add*] και εγκαινια	[*Both add*] και εγκαινια	Deposition of the precious girdle of the Theotokos in the [church of the] Chalkoprateia (and dedication)

APPENDIX 2

Gospel texts cited in full in the Menologion of the Jaharis Lectionary

Commemorations marked with a lection for orthros, prokeimenon, and stoichos, as well as a lection for liturgy are indicated in uppercase **BOLD**.

Sept. 1	Lk 4:16–22a
Sept. 2	Mt 5:14–19
Sept. 3	Jn 10:9–16
Sept. 6	Mk 12:28–37
SEPT. 8 orthros	Lk 1:39–49, 56
SEPT. 8 liturgy	Lk 10:38–42, 11:27–28
Sept. 13	Jn 12:25–36
Sunday before elevation of the Cross	Jn 3:13–17
SEPT. 14 liturgy	Jn 19:6, 9–11a, 13–20, 25–28a, 30b–35a
Sept. 27	Lk 10:1–2
Sept. 30	Mt 24:42–47
Oct. 3	Mt 13:45–48, 51–54a
Oct. 8	Jn 8:3–11
Oct. 9	Mt 10:1–7, 14–15
Oct. 11	Mk 13:33–36, 14:3–9
Oct. 13	Mt 7:12–21
Oct. 18	Lk 10:16–21
Nov. 1	Mt 10:1, 5–8
Nov. 5	Mk 8:34–35, 10:29–31
Nov. 6	Lk 12:8–12
Nov. 10	Lk 14:25–27, 33–35
NOV. 13 orthros	Jn 10:1–9
Nov. 29	“Mk” (=Mt 10:17–18, 23–25a, 28–31)
Dec. 17	Lk 11:43b–50
Dec. 22	Jn 10:22–30
Saturday before Dec. 25	Mt 1:1–25
Sunday before Dec. 25	Mt 13:31–33, 44–46, 53–58
Dec. 24	Lk 2:1–20
DEC. 25 liturgy	Mt 2:1–12
Dec. 26	Mt 2:13–23
Saturday after Dec. 25	Mt 12: 15–21
Jan. 1	Lk 2:20–21, 40–52
Jan. 3	Mt 3:1–11
Jan. 4	Jn 1:19–26
Saturday before Jan. 6	Mt 3:1–6
Sunday before Jan. 6	Mk 1:1–8
Jan. 5	Lk 3:1–18
JAN. 6 orthros	Mk 1:9–11
JAN. 6 liturgy	Mt 3:13–17
Jan. 6 Prodromos	Jn 1:29–34
Saturday after Jan. 6	Mt 4:1–11
Sunday after Jan. 6	Mt 4:12–17
Jan. 9	Lk 3:21–22, 4:1–2a, 14–15
Jan. 12	Jn 10:39–42
FEB. 2 liturgy	Lk 2:22–40 [v. 25 marked as start of orthros]
Feb. 15	Lk 10:3–9
Feb. 23	Jn 12:24–26, 35–36
MAR. 25 liturgy	Lk 1:24–38
May 8	Jn 19:25–27, 21:24–25
May 11 in Forum	Jn 15:9–16
May 11 in Hagia Sophia	Jn 14:15–17, 21, 23b, 25–27a
May 26	Jn 14:21–24

June 5	Lk 11:1–13
June 19	Lk 6:20–26, 10:23–24, 11:33
JUNE 24 liturgy	Lk 1:1–25, 57–68, 76, 80
JUNE 29 liturgy	Mt 16:13–19
June 30	Mt 9:36–10:8
July 8	Lk 6:17–19, 9:1–2, 10:16–22
July 20	Mt 17:10–12, 22–23
AUG. 6 orthros	"Mt" (Lk 9:28–36)
AUG. 6 liturgy	Mt 17:1–9
Aug. 7	Mk 9:2–9
Aug. 12	Jn 12:35–36, 44–50
Aug. 16	Lk 9:51–56, 10:22–24, 13:22
AUG. 29 liturgy	Mk 6:14–30

Other lections cited in full in Jaharis (except those in the Synaxarion)

"VARIOUS" LECTIONS	
For drought	Mt 5:33–48
Another for drought	Mt 6:1–3, Lk 4:24–26, Jn 6:30–33
11 MORNING RESURRECTION LESSONS (Eothina)	
1	
2	
3	
4	Lk 24:1–12
5	
6	
7	Jn 20:1–10
8	Jn 20:11–18
9	
10	Jn 21:1–14
11	

APPENDIX 3

Rubric of "Various" lections

Also see above, p. 33.

"VARIOUS" LECTIONS
Jaharis
Ευαγγελια αναγινωσκομενα εις διαφορας μνημας και λειτουργειας και παννυχιδας της Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας
Εις εγκαινια ναου..., ετερον...
Εις μνημην φοβου σεισμου..., ετερον..., ετερον...
Εις μνημην εφοδους εθνων...
Εις την λιτην ευχαριστηριον κατα πολεμιον...
Εν λιτη παρακλητικη...
Ετερον ομοιον τω αυτω και επι ανομβριας...
Ετερον εις ανομβριαν...
Αλλο κατα παν[ν]υχιδα...
Εις σχημα μοναχου..., ετερον...
Εις γυναικος σχημα...
Εις ασθενουντας και επι ελαιου αρρωστου των Ζ πρεσβυτερων
Ετερον εις ασθενουντας..., ετερον...
Εις ασθενους γυναικας...
Εις εξομολογουμενας ανδρας τε και γυναικας...
Εις κοιμηθεντας..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον...
Ετερον εις κοιμηθεντας και εις ασθενουντας...
1. Ευαγγελιον εις αποστολον ενα δε και πολλους..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον...
2. Εις προφητας..., ετερον..., ετερον...
3. Εις ιεραρχας και ιερομαρτυρας..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον...
4. Εις μαρτυρας..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον...
5. Εις οσιους..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον...
6. Εις αγιας γυναικας οσιας και μαρτυρας..., ετερον..., ετερον...
7. Εις ασωματα..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον..., ετερον...

APPENDIX 4

Prokeimenon and Stoichos texts for special commemorations in the Jaharis Lectionary, compared with evidence from Mateos, Typicon

Psalm references are to *Septuaginta*, ed. Alfred Rahlfs, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1935). The numbering of the Greek version of the Psalms differs from that of the King James Version. Translation based on *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, with an English Translation* (London, n.d.).

Sept. 8 Prokeim.	Μνησθησονται [του ονοματος] (They shall make mention of thy name)	Ps 44:18 (KJV Ps 45:17)	Mateos, II, 180
Stoichos	Ακουσον θυγατηρ και (Hear, O daughter, and see)	Ps 44:11 (KJV Ps 45:10)	Mateos, I, 18–21 [listed for vigil]
Sept. 14 Prokeim.	Ο ΘΣ βασιλευς υμων ειργασατο (But God is our king of old, working salvation)	Ps 73:12 (KJV Ps 74:12)	Mateos, II, 180
Stoichos	[Μ]νησθητι της συναγωγης (Remember thy congregation)	Ps 73:2 (KJV Ps 74:2)	
Oct. 22 Prokeim.	Τιμιος εναντιον ΚΥ (Precious in the sight of the Lord)	Ps 115:6 (KJV Ps 116:15)	Mateos, I, 72–73, but listed for Oct. 21, Saint Hilarion
Stoichos	Τι ανταποδωσω τω ΚΩ (What shall I render to the Lord?)	Ps 115:3 (KJV Ps 116:12)	
Nov. 8 Prokeim.	Ο ποιων τους αγγελους (Who makes his angels spirits)	Ps 103:4 (KJV Ps 104:4)	Mateos, I, 94–95, but reversed
Stoichos	Ευλογει η ψυχη [μου] τον ΚΝ (Bless the Lord, O my soul)	Ps 103:1 (KJV Ps 104:1	
Nov. 13 Prokeim. Stoichos	Repeats Oct. 22		[Mateos, I, 98–101, is different]
Nov. 21 Prokeim. Stoichos	Repeats Sept. 8		[Mateos, I, 110–112, is different]
Dec. 25 Prokeim.	Εκ γαστρος προ εωσφορου εξεγεννησα (I have begotten thee from the womb before the morning)	Ps 109:3 (KJV Ps 110:3)	Mateos, I, 154–55, but reversed, and also
Stoichos	Ειπεν ο ΚΣ τω ΚΩ (The Lord said to my Lord)	Ps 109:1 (KJV 110:1)	Mateos, II, 182, where not reversed
Jan. 6 Prokeim.	Φωνη ΚΥ επι των υδατων (The voice of the Lord is upon the waters)	Ps 28:3 (KJV 29:3)	Mateos, I, 184–87, omits second text
Stoichos	Ενεγκατε τω ΚΩ υιοι ΘΥ (Bring to the Lord ye sons of God)	Ps 28:1 (KJV Ps 29:1)	Mateos, II, 182, has both texts

Feb. 2 Prokeim.	Εγνωρισε ΚΣ το σωτηριον εναντιον των εθνων απεκαλυψεν την δικαιοσυνην αυτου (The Lord has made known his salvation; he has revealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations)	Ps 97:2 (KJV Ps 98: 2)	[Mateos, I, 220–25, is different]
Stoichos	Ειδοσαν παντα τα περατα της γης το σωτηριον του ΘΥ ημων (All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God)	Ps 97:3 (KJV PS 98:3)	Mateos, II, 182, has first text only
Mar. 25 Prokeim.	Καταβησεται ως υετος επι ποκον και ωσει σταγονες (He shall come down as rain upon a fleece; and as drops falling upon the earth)	Ps 71:6 (KJV PS 72:6)	Mateos, I, 254 (252–59), but second text is different
Stoichos	Ανατελει εν ταις ημεραις αυτου δικαιοσυνη (In his days shall righteousness spring up)	Ps 71:7 (KJV Ps 72:7)	
June 24 Prokeim.	Εκει εξανατελω κερας τω Δαυιδ, ητοιμασα λυχνον τω ΧΩ μου (There will I cause to spring up a horn to David: I have prepared a lamp for mine anointed)	Ps 131:17 (KJV Ps 132:17)	[Mateos, I, 318–19, is different]
Stoichos	Μνησθητι ΚΕ του Δαυιδ και πασης της πραυτητος (Lord remember David and all his meekness)	Ps 131:1 (KJV Ps 132:1)	
June 29 Prokeim.	Εις πασαν την γην εξηλθεν (Their voice is gone out into all the earth)	Ps 18:5 (KJV Ps 19:4)	Mateos, I, 326 (322–27), texts are reversed, cited for liturgy not orthros
Stoichos	Οι ουρανοι διηγουνται δοξαν (The heavens declare the glory of God)	Ps 18:2 (KJV Ps 19:1)	
Aug. 6 Prokeim.	Θαβωρ και Ερμων εν τω ονοματι (Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name)	Ps 88:13 (KJV Ps 89:12)	[Mateos, I, 360–3, is different]
Stoichos	Μακαριος ο λαος ο γινωσκων (Blessed is the people that knows the joyful sound)	Ps 88:16 (KJV Ps 89:15)	Mateos, II, 184, has both texts
Aug. 15 Prokeim.	Μεγαλυνει η ψυχη μου τον Κυριον (My soul doth magnify the Lord)	Lk 1:46	Mateos, I, 370 (368–71), but lacks
Stoichos	Οτι επεβλεψεν επι (For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden)	Lk 1:48	the
"Another Prokeim-enon"	Μνησθησονται του ονοματος (They shall make of thy name) (see Sept. 8)	Ps 44:18 (KJV Ps 45:17)	3rd text
Aug. 29 Prokeim. Stoichos	Repeats Oct. 22		[Mateos, I, 386–87, is different. Repeats texts for Oct. 22]

NOTES

Introduction

1. Jan-Wilhelm Beck, ed., *Terentianus Maurus. De syllabis* (Göttingen, 1993), p. 122, line 1286; see also commentary on pp. 518–20. Wolfgang Milde, *Habent sua fata libelli: Zur Geschichte eines Zitats* (Berlin, 1988).

Retracing History

1. Marion Hanke et al., eds., *Masterpieces*, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, vol. 9 (Hamburg, 2008), cat. no. 3, pp. 24–29 (based on a text by John Lowden).
2. Jean-Marie Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard*, 3d ed. (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 260–65 (nos. 887–908) for the Kosinitza Monastery near Drama; pp. 739–43 (nos. 2153–2164) for the Prodromos Monastery near Serres. See further references in Axinia Dzhurova, "L'Evangéliaire cod. Dujčev 157 = olim Kos. 9 du XIe siècle," *Byzantina Chronika* 55 (1998), pp. 199–200 n. 1.
3. Marcel Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1958), p. 188.
4. Olivier, *Répertoire*, p. 653.
5. Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Morgan Lectionary," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, edited by Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), cat. no. 60, pp. 105–7, on p. 107. The manuscript had previously been mentioned in Jeffrey C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (University Park, Pa., 1992), p. 9. Prof. Anderson kindly informed me that he knew of the manuscript from photographs in the collection of Kurt Weitzmann at Princeton.
6. Jean Porcher and Marie-Louise Concasty, eds., *Byzance et la France médiévale* (Paris, 1958), cat. no. 42, p. 27.
7. Charles Astruc, "Précisions et rectifications: Compléments à Gregory Textkritik (sur le ms grec de la Société Biblique de France) et à Dölger, Regesten (sur le Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 131)," *Scriptorium* 13 (1959), pp. 84–86, esp. pp. 84–85.
8. A biography was published after his death: C. J. Friedrich, *Professor Gregory: Amerikaner, Christ, Volksfreund, deutscher Held* (Gotha, 1917). A second edition was even more hagiographic: *Volksfreund Gregory: Amerikaner, Pfadfinder, Urchrist, deutscher Kämpfer* (Gotha, 1920).
9. The list of manuscripts was most recently updated in Kurt Aland et al., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1994), p. 240 (siglum *l* 351).
10. Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1900–1909), vol. 1, p. 418. Cited by Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1902–13), vol. 1, p. 173 (siglum ε 2095), as in the Société Biblique Protestante.
11. Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 4, *Introduction et table alphabétique* (Paris, 1898), Addenda, p. 390.
12. "QUATUOR EVANGELIA GRAECE. Grand in-folio, reliure en bois, tranche dorée avec traces d'anciennes peintures: 3000 francs. Très précieux manuscrit grec du XIIe siècle sur velin et d'une belle conservation." Henri Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), p. 306.
13. Christine Amsler, *Maisons de campagne genevoises du XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1999–2001), vol. 2, pp. 279–87. I am most grateful to Minta Collins for this reference.
14. "BORDIER (Henri-Leonard)," in *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1954), vol. 6, col. 1087.
15. Henri Bordier and Émile Mabille, *Une fabrique de faux autographes, ou Récit de l'affaire Vrain Lucas* (Paris, 1870); and see the translation by Joseph Rosenblum, *Prince of Forgers* (New Castle, Del., 1998).
16. Bordier, *Description*, p. 21.
17. Ibid., pp. 306–7.
18. Ibid., p. 305.
19. [black ink] Το παρον θειον και ιερον ευαγγελιον υπαρχει εμου δ'οποιον εχ ιδιων μου αγορασα εν ετει [written in purple ink over an erasure:1866] αυγ. 12.
[name in black ink erased] [purple ink] Κωνσταντινος Ερβιτσιανος
+ + +
εκ του αγιου ορους
[Black ink] To paron theion kai hieron evaggelion hyparchei emou d'opoion ex idiōn mou agorasa en etei [written in purple ink over an erasure] 1866 Aug. 12.
[name in black ink erased] [purple ink] Kōnstantinos Erbitsianos.
+ + +
Ek tou Hagiou Orous.
20. On whom see Leonidas Rados, "The First Romanian Neohellenist: Constantin Erbiceanu (1838–1913)," *Balkan Studies* 41 (2000), pp. 113–37.
21. Ibid., pp. 116–17.
22. Ibid., p. 129.
23. Constantin Erbiceanu, "Katalogos synoptikos tōn xeirographōn tōn en tais bibiothēkais tēs Rōmounias evriskomenōn . . .," in *Ho en Kōnstantinoupolei Hellēnikos Philologikos Syllogos: Eikosipentaetēris 1861–1886, Parartēma tou IH tomou* (Constantinople [Istanbul], 1888), pp. 97–102.
24. Το παρον θειον ιερον ευαγγελιον υπαρχι ////////
+ Ιεροσολυμου Χρυσανθος 1707 δεκεμβριω μηνι
To paron theion hieron evangelion hyparchi////
+ Hierosolymou Chrysanthos 1707 dekembriō mēni.
25. See Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Minaturenhandschriften*, vols. 4.1–4.2, *Oxford Christ Church* (Stuttgart, 1993), pp. xxxix–xli.
26. Leopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 382–83.
27. Henri Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIe au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1929), p. 56 n. 1.
28. Μνησθητι Κ[υρι]ε του δουλου σου Νικολαου +
Mnēsthēti Kyrie tou doulou sou Nikolaou +
29. Μνησθητι Κ[υρι]ε καμου του δουλου σου αμαρτολου Γεδεων και συχωρησον μοι
Mnēsthēti Kyrie kamou tou doulou sou amartolou Gedeōn kai sychōrēson moi.
30. Μνησθητι Κ[υρι]ε καμου του δουλου σου αμαρτολου Αντιοχου //// και συχωρησον μοι
Mnēsthēti Kyrie kamou tou doulou sou amartolou Antiochou //// kai sychōrēson moi.

Reconstructing Use

1. For example, see the Gospel Lectionaries Athens, National Library of Greece (EBE), cod. 187 and cod. 2645: Anna Marava-Chatzēnikolaou and Christina Toufexē-Paschou, *Katalogos mikrographiōn vyzantinōn cheirographōn tēs Ethnikēs Vivliothēkēs tēs Hellados* (Athens, 1978–85), vol. 1, pp. 130–31, 139–40. For this chapter, see in particular the invaluable study of Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "The Middle Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991; on the terminology, see pp. 76–80. Dolezal's thesis is the essential point of reference for much of what follows. See also the indispensable studies of Robert F. Taft, S.J., especially *A History of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, vol. 2, *The Great Entrance* (Rome, 1978), and a volume of his collected studies: *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond* (Aldershot, 1995). Also of fundamental importance: John G. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987). A valuable survey is Paul Canart, "Il libro dei Vangeli nell'Impero bizantino," in *I Vangeli dei popoli*, edited by Francesco D'Aiuto et al. (Rome, 2000), pp. 77–92.
2. Αρχη του ευαγγελιου Ιησου Χριστου / Archē tou evangeliou Iēsou Christou (Mk 1:1).
3. G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 555–59.
4. Robert F. Taft, "Lections," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 1201–2. See also the same author's entries on "Lectionary" (p. 1201) and "Liturgical Books" (p. 1239).
5. These four manuscripts are Sinai Gr. 213 + St. Petersburg RNL Gr. 283 (967 AD); London BL Add. 39602 (980 AD); Vat. Gr. 1238 (991 AD); London BL Harley 5598 (995 AD). Noted already by Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," p. 81 n. 15.
6. For example, Athens EBE cod. 76: Marava-Chatzēnikolaou and Toufexē-Paschou, *Katalogos mikrographiōn vyzantinōn*, p. 105. See also *Thesaurus graecae linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus* (Paris, 1831–65), vol. 7, col. 2066, s.v. τετραευαγγελιον. Sometimes β was used instead of υ, indicating a phonetic shift.
7. Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathios Boïlas (1059)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 11 (1957), pp. 263–77, esp. p. 269.
8. Charles Astruc, "L'inventaire—dressé en septembre 1200—du Trésor et de la Bibliothèque de Patmos. Édition diplomatique," *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981), pp. 15–30, esp. p. 22.
9. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 693.
10. Ibid., pp. 692–93: see also words having καινος / kainos in the stem.
11. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 74–148.
12. John Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy: The Function of Books," in *Church and People in Byzantium*, edited by Rosemary Morris (Birmingham, 1990), pp. 263–80, esp. pp. 275–80, emphasizing the importance of "select" lectionaries. See also A. B. Zacharova, "Vizantijskie illjustrirovannye prazdnichnye lekcionarii (tip I sel)," *Byzantina Chronika* 63 (2004), pp. 242–50; Irmgard Hutter, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Manuscript Illumination Reconsidered," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Iskusstvo rukopisnoi knigi: Vizantiia, Drevniaia Rus'*, edited by E. N. Dobrynina (Saint Petersburg, 2004), pp. 21–43.
13. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 92–94.
14. As revealed in monastic typika. See first Robert H. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, 2 vols. (Belfast, 2000–2005).
15. Bernard Flusin, trans., *Empereur de Constantinople / Jean Skylitzes* (Paris, 2003), p. 393.
16. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 1–2.
17. For examples, see notes 7–8 above.
18. Robert F. Taft, "The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 36040*," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 45 (1979), pp. 279–307, esp. pp. 284–85, 290–91 (on the Gospel); 46 (1980), pp. 89–124.
19. Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église* (Rome, 1962–63), vol. 1, pp. 152–54.
20. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 180.
21. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 81 n. 1, 84. For the meaning of μεγαλειον / megaleion, see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.
22. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 113–17.
23. Ibid., pp. 118–19. The inclusion of the 12th Passion lection as a cross-reference only is also found in Morgan M. 639, Venice IE 2, and Dionysiou 587.
24. Ibid., pp. 119–20.
25. Ibid., pp. 120–21.
26. Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Boston, 1934–45), vol. 4, pls. 299–300; Ioannes Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), no. 89.
27. Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 1, *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1990), p. 341.
28. Cited in Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi* (Brussels, 1902), col. 450, lines 19–20, as Petros του εν Μονοβαγοις (*sic*) / Petros tou en Monobagois.
29. Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary.*
30. Tomoyuki Masuda, *Hē eikonographēsē tou cheirographou arith. 587m. tēs Monēs Dionysiou sto Hagio Oros* (Thessaloniki, 1990).
31. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary."
32. Tomoyuki Masuda and Rie Ebihara, "A Comparative Study on the Synaxaria in the Middle-Byzantine Illustrated Lectionaries" (in Japanese), *Bulletin of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Waseda University* 3 (2003), pp. 82–89; also available as a PDF edition (2005): http://www.waseda.jp/prj-med_inst/bulletin/bull03e.html. (Consulted July 17, 2009.)
33. Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)." *Word & Image* 12 (1996), pp. 23–60.
34. See primarily Andreas Xyngopoulos, "To istorēmenon Evangelion tou Hellēnikou Institoutou Benetias," *Thesaurismata* 1 (1962), pp. 63–88, pls. 1–13; Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 153–82. A high-quality reproduction of the manuscript has been available online since September 2008: http://eib.xanthi.ilsp.gr/gr/manuscripts.asp?cursort=manuscriptTitle&selectFieldValue=&vpage=2. (Consulted July 17, 2009.)
35. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 218–353; Francesco D'Aiuto, "[Vat. Gr. 1156] Lezionario dei Vangeli. Greco," in *I Vangeli dei popoli*, edited by Francesco D'Aiuto et al. (Rome, 2000), cat. no. 54, pp. 244–48.
36. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 183–97; Kurt Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, edited by Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 358–73.
37. Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 1, pp. 72–75, figs. 269–278, 287 (no. 42); vol. 3, pp. 336–37.
38. Illustrations in Stylianos Pelekanides et al., eds., *Hoi thesauroi tou Hagiou Orous* (Athens, 1973–91), vol. 1, figs. 189–277; Masuda, *Hē eikonographēsē tou cheirographou arith. 587m.*; Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 197–215; Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word."
39. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no. 89.
40. Ibid., no. 160.
41. Information on Paris suppl. gr. 1096 is based on Masuda and Ebihara, "Comparative Study on the Synaxaria."
42. Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 1, pp. 12–17.
43. Aleksei Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei* (Kiev, 1892–1917), vol. 1, p. 152.
44. Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 2, pp. 200–203.
45. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 181–82. A shorter version of this text, focusing on the instructions for September 1, was reproduced and discussed by Edwin Freshfield, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Aldenham upon the Subject of a Byzantine Evangelion* (London, 1900), but the current whereabouts of the manuscript is uncertain, and Freshfield's publication appears to have been entirely

overlooked. He was aware that the text in his manuscript was noteworthy: "I have examined some scores, perhaps hundreds, of Evangelia, but have never found one with this rubric or anything like it," p. 7 (see also plate facing p. 7 and p. 8).

46. Information on Paris Gr. 286 is derived from Masuda and Ebihara, "Comparative Study on the Synaxaria."
47. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 152; Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 2, p. 201 n. 1.
48. Yvonne Burns, "The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople," *Studia Patristica* 15 (1984), pp. 516–20.
49. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," p. 143 and n. 143.
50. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, part 1, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, vol. 3, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1969), pp. 267–69.
51. Found by Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," p. 143, in 27 of her 92 witnesses.
52. For imperial participation in the celebration of this feast, see Albert Vogt, ed. and trans., *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: Le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1935), vol. 1, pp. 110–12 (chap. 29).
53. Dolezal, "Middle Byzantine Lectionary," pp. 238–46, discusses the inclusion of patriarchs.
54. Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 1, pp. 24–33.
55. Ο θεος βασιλευς ημων προ αιωνος ειργασατο [σωτηριαν] / Ho theos basileus ēmōn pro aiōnos eirgasato [sōtērian].
56. Μνησθητη / Mnēsthētē [but the initial gold mu is missing, along with the abbreviation for "stoichos," which should be located beside the mu] της συναγωγης / tēs synagōgēs.
57. Εκει εξανατελω κερας τω Δαυιδ ητοιμασα λυχνον τω Χριστω μου / Ekei exanatelō keras tō David hētoimasa lychnon tō Christō mou.
58. Μνησθητι κυριε του Δαυιδ και πασης της πραυτητος / Mnēsthēti Kyrie tou David kai pasēs tēs prautētos.
59. Also in Paris gr. 286: Masuda and Ebihara, "Comparative Study on the Synaxaria."

Exploring Manufacture

1. Some figures are provided in Nigel G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium (Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 1–15, esp. pp. 3–4.
2. An example of the effective use of evidence from ruling patterns can be seen in Robert S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late-Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 58–69. See also Irmgard Hutter, "Le copiste du Métaphraste: On a Centre for Manuscript Production in Eleventh-Century Constantinople," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, edited by Giancarlo Prato (Florence, 2000), pp. 535–86, pls. 1–39.
3. Jacques-Hubert Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1995).
4. Gregory, *Textkritik*, vol. 1, p. 418.
5. Herbert Hunger, "Die Perlschrift, eine Stilrichtung der griechischen Buchschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1954), pp. 22–32; reprinted in the author's *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung, gesammelte Aufsätze* (London, 1973), no. 1. The German terms that define these scripts reflect the importance of Hunger's contribution.
6. Giancarlo Prato, "Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli," *Scrittura e Civiltà* 5 (1981), pp. 105–47.
7. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no. 116, pls. 220–223.
8. Herbert Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.–12. Jahrhundert," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, edited by Jean Glénisson et al. (Paris, 1977), pp. 201–20.
9. Ibid.
10. Marava-Chatzēnikolaou and Toufexē-Paschou, *Katalogos mikrographiōn vyzantinōn*, vol. 1, fig. 322.
11. Pelekanides et al., eds., *Hoi thesauroi tou Hagiou Orous*, vol. 2, fig. 270.
12. Ibid., vol. 2, fig. 416 (misidentified as fol. 1r).
13. Ibid., vol. 3, fig. 172.
14. Ibid., vol. 3, fig. 56.
15. Ibid., vol. 3, fig. 62.
16. Hutter, "Le copiste du Métaphraste." Even more inclusive, but less convincing, is Nadezhda Kavrus, "A Byzantine Scriptorium of the Second Half of the 11th Century," *Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* 19 (1993), pp. 77–78.
17. Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai*, colorpl. XVI.c.
18. Tania Velmans, *La Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI. 23* (Paris, 1971), fig. 4; Francesco D'Aiuto et al., eds., *I Vangeli dei popoli* (Rome, 2000), cat. no. 56, pp. 252–57.
19. Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 1, pp. 56–59, figs. 207–224 (no. 38); vol. 3, p. 333.
20. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), pp. 155–83, fig. 31.
21. Ibid., fig. 33.
22. Pelekanides et al., eds., *Hoi thesauroi tou Hagiou Orous*, vol. 3, fig. 8.
23. Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai*, fig. 346.
24. Ibid., colorpl. XXIII.
25. Joanna Cannon kindly drew my attention to a comparable phenomenon in the Gerona Bible; see Massimo Medica, ed., *Duecento: Forme e colori del Medioevo a Bologna* (Venice, 2000), e.g., on the throne of Christ, reproduced on p. 317.
26. Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament Manuscript," fig. 30.
27. Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. XCVII.2, C.1.
28. Kathleen Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394," *Word & Image* 12 (1996), pp. 61–93, esp. fig. 16.
29. See, in general, Carlo Federici and Konstantinos Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane* (Rome, 1988). See also British Library, Add. Ms. 11838, dated 1325/6. And a comparable design is found on Venice, Marc. Gr. I. 20.
30. Marava-Chatzēnikolaou and Toufexē-Paschou, *Katalogos mikrographiōn vyzantinōn*, vol. 2, unnumbered plate.
31. Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai*, fig. 390 (binding in figs. 386–391), p. 117.
32. Nicholas Pickwoad has informed me that George Bourdalis, in his unpublished doctoral thesis on bindings found at Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, has drawn attention to a small group of bindings made at Sinai, ca. 1660–66, one of which has edges decorated with a Deesis image (Sinai Gr. 1110).
33. See first Jean Irigoin, "Une écriture du Xe siècle: La minuscule bouletée," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, edited by Jean Glénisson et al. (Paris, 1977), pp. 191–200.
34. PG, vol. 48, col. 991, lines 13ff. +Λογος Δ. Του αυτου εις Λαζαρον . . . Ου τα τυχοντα ημας / + Logos 4. Tou autou eis Lazaron . . . Ou ta tychonta ēmas.
35. Folio 2v ends at PG, vol. 48, col. 992, line 33 (τας καλυβας εν ερημια / tas kalybas en erēmia), and folio 1 contains PG, vol. 48, col. 994, line 44 (μεν γαρ εξοθεν / men gar exothen)–col. 995, line 56 (μεγας κριμνος και βαρα[θρον] / megas krimnos kai bara[thron]).
36. François Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca* (Brussels, 1957), no. 649; PG, vol. 114, col. 616 D8 (τον κοινον δεσποτην / ton koinon despotēn)–col. 620 C2 (και εις την ερημον ζηφω[ν] / kai eis tēn erēmon zēphōn).
37. PG, vol. 58, col. 479, lines 13–42 (αποστολοι ησαν και τι τουτο . . . Ιακωβ ποιον νεκρον / apostoloi ēsan kai ti touto . . . Iacōb poion nekron) on the recto, and continuing to PG, vol. 58, col. 480, line 16 on the verso (επιδεικνυμενος επισπαται / epideiknymenos epispatai).

Contextualizing Production

1. Based on a survey of the material in John Lowden, "The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, edited by John Williams (University Park, Pa., 1999), pp. 9–59.
2. See also John Lowden, "The Word Made Visible: The Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument," in *The Early Christian*

Book, edited by William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran (Washington, D.C., 2007), pp. 15–47, figs. 1–15.
3. For example, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 6.23, See "Exploring Manufacture," note 18.
4. See "Reconstructing Use," note 36.
5. See "Reconstructing Use," note 34.
6. Robert S. Nelson, "The Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaeologan Period," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 36 (1986), pp. 229–54.
7. Hutter, *Corpus*. See "Exploring Manufacture," note 19.
8. See "Reconstructing Use," note 35.
9. Compare the Denial of Peter (in Parma Palat. 5 and Morgan M. 639), or the Threnos in Vat. Gr. 1156 and Parma Palat. 5. Color reproductions in John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997), figs. 169–171; D'Aiuto et al., eds., *I Vangeli dei popoli*, cat. no. 54, fig. on p. 245; Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639," fig. 317.
10. Sotiris Kadas, "The Illustrated Manuscripts," in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi* (Mount Athos, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 575–97, esp. pp. 592–94. Sotiris Kadas, "Ta cheirographa tou Skevophylakiou, prōtē prosengisē tēs technēs tous," in *The Monastery of Vatopedi: History and Art* (Athens, 1999), pp. 129–40, esp. p. 132. I am very grateful to Erich Lamberz for timely assistance and information on this manuscript.
11. Note that the image of Dives and Lazarus in Vatopedi 3*, folio 108r (Kadas, "Illustrated Manuscripts," fig. 540d), is treated differently in Venice IE 2, folio 165r (Xyngopoulos, "To istorēmenon Evangelion," pl. Δ.1).
12. Boris L. Fonkich, "Grecheskie rukopisi Odessy." *Byzantina Chronika* 43 (1982), pp. 98–101, esp. pp. 98–99 and figs. 1–5.
13. Dzhurova, "L'Evangéliaire cod. Dujčev 157." See also Axinia Dzhurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen* (Regensburg, 2002), colorpls. 57, 59.

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3. Suggestions for further reading (primarily in English)

An excellent starting point is provided by exhibition catalogues, with their synoptic essays and detailed discussion of individual objects. Two Metropolitan Museum catalogues merit pride of place: *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, edited by Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997); and *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, edited by Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004). Two catalogues of exhibitions in London can be mentioned: David Buckton, ed., *Byzantium* (London, 1994), at the British Museum; and *Byzantium, 330–1453*, edited by Robin Cormack and Maria Vassilaki (London, 2008), at the Royal Academy of Arts. Exhibitions with a manuscript focus are particularly helpful: *I Vangeli dei popoli* (Rome, 2000), at the Vatican Library. Reference works, handbooks, and surveys are indispensable: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., edited by Alexander Kazhdan (New York, 1991); *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, edited by Elizabeth Jeffreys (New York, 2008); Linda Safran, ed., *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa., 1998); Robin Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 2000); and John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997). Surprisingly, there is no book-length survey of Byzantine manuscript illumination in English.

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The Great Lavra, Mount Athos, after Stylianos M. Pelekanides, et al., eds., *Hoi thesauroi tou Hagiou Orous* (Athens, 1973–91), vol. 3, pp. 24, 30: figs. 17, 72, respectively

The Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos: figs. 97, 98

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